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**M E M O I R S**

**ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE**

**HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES**

**OF**

**N O R F O L K**

**AND**

**T H E C I T Y O F N O R W I C H .**



**M E M O I R S**  
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**HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES**  
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**N O R F O L K**  
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**T H E C I T Y O F N O R W I C H,**

**COMMUNICATED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE**  
**Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,**  
**HELD AT NORWICH, JULY, 1847,**  
**WITH A GENERAL REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING, AND A CATALOGUE**  
**OF THE MUSEUM FORMED ON THAT OCCASION.**

**L O N D O N :**  
**PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE,**  
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## CONTENTS.

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	Page
GENERAL REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING. - - -	i
CATALOGUE OF ANTIQUITIES, EXHIBITED IN THE TEMPORARY MUSEUM. -	xxiii
NOTICES OF THE ROMAN CAMP AT CAISTOR, OF ANCIENT NORWICH, ITS CASTLE, AND THE VENTA ICENORUM. Communicated in a letter addressed to Dawson Turner, Esq., by HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. - - - - -	1
NOTICES OF THE ORIGINAL STRUCTURE OF THE ROMAN FORTIFICATIONS AT BRANCASTER, ( <i>Branodunum</i> ,) NORFOLK. By the Rev. JAMES LEE WARNER.	9
ON THE COURSE OF THE ICKNILD WAY, AS CONNECTED WITH NORWICH CASTLE. By ARTHUR TAYLOR, Esq., F.S.A. - - - - -	17
A FEW NOTES RESPECTING THE BISHOPS OF EAST ANGLIA. By JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE, Esq. - - - - -	24
ON THE PART TAKEN BY NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK IN THE REFORMATION. By the Rev. ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, M.A. - - - - -	57
HINTS ON THE NATURE, PURPOSE, AND RESOURCES OF TOPOGRAPHY. By JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A. - - - - -	69
ON PRECATORY OR MORTUARY ROLLS, AND PARTICULARLY ONE OF THE ABBEY OF WEST DEREHAM, NORFOLK. By JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A. -	99
MEMOIR ON WYMONDHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK. By the Rev. J. L. PETIT, M.A.	115
ON ANCIENT GATE-HOUSES, CASTELLATED, DOMESTIC, AND ECCLESIASTICAL, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THOSE IN THE CITY OF NORWICH. By JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A. &c. - - - - -	126
ON CERTAIN GUILDS, FORMERLY EXISTING IN THE TOWN OF LITTLE WALSINGHAM, NORFOLK. By JOSEPH BURTT. - - - - -	142
ARCHITECTURAL NOTES OF THE CHURCHES AND OTHER BUILDINGS IN THE CITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD OF NORWICH, and in some more distant parts of the County, visited by the Institute, July, 1847. By J. H. PARKER, F.S.A. -	157
NOTICE OF A PAINTING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY, PART OF THE DECO- RATIONS OF AN ALTAR: DISCOVERED IN NORWICH CATHEDRAL. By ALBERT WAY, Esq. - - - - -	198

	Page
EXTRACTS FROM THE ACCOUNT-ROLLS OF NORWICH PRIORY. Illustrative of Painting, Pigments, &c. - - - - -	207
NOTICE OF THE MONUMENTAL EFFIGY OF BISHOP GOLDWELL, IN NORWICH CATHEDRAL. By MATTHEW HOLBECH BLOXAM, Esq. - - -	211
REMARKS ON SOME ANCIENT ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS IN THE CHURCH OF BEESTON ST. LAURENCE, NORFOLK, and on certain changes which took place in Early Ecclesiastical Architecture, as shewn in Churches of that County. By the Rev. JOHN GUNN, M.A. - - - - -	213
REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF SIR THOMAS BROWNE. Com- municated by CAPT. BLAKISTON, R.N. - - - - -	219
NOTICE OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE REMAINS OF SIR THOMAS BROWNE, in the Church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norfolk, and of the curious Inscription found at that time. By ROBERT FITCH, Esq., F.G.S. - - - - -	223

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desire that it should be understood, that they are not respon-  
sible for any statements or opinions expressed in the publica-  
tions of the Institute; the authors of the several Memoirs  
being alone responsible for the same.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS\*.

	Page title
*The Bishop's Palace Gate-house, Norwich, (see p. 140)	-
Antiquities exhibited in the Museum of the Institute at Norwich	xxiii—lvi
Celt moulds of stone and bronze, p. xxvi.—Bronze object, from Mr. Goddard Johnson's museum, <i>ibid.</i> —Radiated bronze head, from Felmingham, p. xxvii.—Roman cochlear, from Colchester, p. xxviii.—Bridle-bit, found with a hauberk, in France, p. xxx.—Sword, attributed to the Chevalier Bayard, p. xxxi.—Silver-gilt brooch, from Mr. Whincopp's museum, p. xxxv.—Tripod bronze ewer, <i>ibid.</i> —Leaden bulla of the Master of the Hospitallers, and seal of the Deanery of Hengham, p. xlviii.	
*Halbard found in the Lake of Morat	lvi
*Plan of the site of Branodunum	11
*Transverse section, Roman masonry, <i>ibid</i>	12
*Plan of remains, N. E. angle of Branodunum	13
*Section of the remains	15
Roman gold coin of Nero, found at Caistor	16
This woodcut is presented to the Institute by the Rev. James Lee Warner.	
Precatory Roll of West Dereham Abbey, in the possession of Sir Thomas Hare, Bart.	99
Initial letter, with the arms of West Dereham Abbey, and representation of the obsequies of Abbot John de Wygenhale	105
Wymondham Church, Norfolk	114—125
View, looking north-east,—Elevation of one bay of the nave,—an arch in the nave (two cuts),—Boss of the roof, jamb of a window in the north aisle, and a capital in the nave,—the sedilia,—Norman arches, and base of a pier, in ruins, at the east end,—Clerestory window, shewing flint-work, a window and a squinch in the tower,—Ground-plan of the church and adjacent remains of monastic buildings, (fourteen woodcuts, forming eight pages.)	
The whole of these illustrations have been presented most liberally by the Rev. J. L. Petit.	
Roof of the Nave, Wymondham Church	123
*The Boom Towers, Norwich	126
Ber-street Gate, and St. Stephen's Gate, Norwich	136
*Bishop's Gate and Bridge, Norwich	141
View of Beeston St. Laurence Church, Norfolk	159
Architectural illustrations, Churches in Norwich, and in the county, visited by the Institute.	
Doorway of a house in London-street, Norwich	162
Brass lectern, and scutcheon of chancel-door, St. Gregory's, Norwich	164
St. Julian's Church, Norwich, viewed from the N. W.	166
Flint and stone work, chancel, St. Michael's, Coslany	170

\* Those marked \*, are in the letter-press, the remainder are to be placed opposite the pages indicated.



	Page
Crested parapet, St. Giles', and wooden lectern, St. Michael's - -	171
The roof of the nave, St. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich - - -	172
West door, St. Peter's Mancroft, and spandrels of doorway, London-street, Norwich, (see p. 162) - - - - -	173
St. Stephen's, Norwich, the roof - - - - -	175
The font, East Dereham Church - - - - -	183
Details, East Dereham Church, and Priest's door, North Elmham -	184
Binham Priory Church, mouldings, and open seat in the nave -	186
Walsingham, pulpit in the Refectory - - - - -	188
Houghton in the Dale Church - - - - -	189
The Toll-house, Yarmouth - - - - -	195
Ancient painting on panel, discovered in Norwich Cathedral - -	198
View of the Church of Beeston St. Laurence, Norfolk - - -	213

# Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF RESEARCHES INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS  
OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES, ESPECIALLY IN ENGLAND.

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## ANNUAL MEETING, 1847.

HELD AT NORWICH, COMMENCING THURSDAY, JULY 29.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING.

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THURSDAY, JULY 29, 1847.

THE Inaugural Meeting, with which the proceedings commenced, took place in St. Andrew's Hall, formerly the church of the Dominican Friars, of which the lofty and spacious nave now serves as a place of public assembly. Soon after twelve, the Lord Bishop, (President-Elect,) accompanied by the Marquis of Northampton, Lord Braybrooke, Sir John Boileau, Bart., the Master of Trinity College, Archdeacon Collyer, Mr. Milman, Mr. Amyot, Professor Sedgwick, and many Members of the several Committees, assembled in the Hall, and the business of the Meeting commenced.

The MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON, having taken the chair as the representative of the President, the EARL FITZWILLIAM, expressed regret at the unavoidable absence of that nobleman, at a moment of universal political excitement on the opening of a general election, which unfortunately must detain many, who usually took a warm interest in the proceedings of the Institute, from participation in this Meeting. The noble Marquis, having alluded to the kindness and cordiality with which the Bishop of Norwich had accepted the office of President, on the present occasion, and to the encouraging welcome evinced towards the Society in the city and county, selected as the place of assembly for this year, resigned the chair to

The LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH, who remarked that it had not been without hesitation, that he had accepted the office of President of the Institute, being conscious of his inability to fulfil the duties devolving upon him. That feeling had arisen, not from any unwillingness on his part, but from the consideration of the important and heavy duties of his position in that diocese, which must preclude the possibility of his devoting to the objects and interests of the Institute the time and attention which might justly be expected from their President. But, if unable fully to attend to their interests, he could cordially and sincerely welcome them to the ancient city of Norwich, not in his own name alone, but in the name of every inhabitant of that city. His Lordship observed that, with the exception of the Provincial Medical Association, the Institute was the first scientific body which had visited Norwich; he hoped that their Meeting would be the precursor of future visits from other Societies, productive of beneficial results in the extension of various branches of knowledge, and arousing an interest in science, which without such seasonable excitement might have

remained dormant. He alluded to the wide and important field presented by East Anglia to the labours of antiquaries, and to the rapid growth of archæological science: researches of this nature were no longer regarded with prejudice or contempt, as trivial and idle curiosity. The days had been, indeed, when they might not have found the same welcome, as on the present occasion, nor have been regarded with the same respect; but these times had past. All scientific enquiries must be recognized as beneficial, in their tendency to enlarge the mind in regard both to the past and present. He adverted to the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture, and to the noble structures here presented to the Institute. Some persons might object, that it had been a superstitious and erroneous faith which reared those structures, and therefore, that they were worthless. He denied the inference. The faith might have been erroneous, but it should be borne in mind, that the professors of that faith had to the utmost acted up to the light they had; and in many an exercise of piety and devotion presented to those, who enjoyed a purer faith, an example, which they might do well to bear more constantly in mind. He spoke of the wide range to which the observations of the Institute might be extended, in enquiries directed to remote ages,—the histories of Rome or Athens, and the antiquities of distant lands. But it was in relation to our own island, and to the historical associations of the scenes by which we were surrounded, that the purpose of the Society might chiefly claim regard. Our trans-atlantic brethren might feel, but not in the like degree, the deep interest of many recollections connected with by-gone times. The sons of the Pilgrim Fathers might come from the far west to wander in this island, with scarce any interest in many a spot connected with antiquity; but was there an Englishman who could traverse the green-sward of Runnymede, without thinking of the freedom and privileges that his country won, when mailed barons drew from a monarch's grasp those rights which we now enjoyed?

SIR JOHN BOILEAU, Bart., then moved a cordial vote of acknowledgment to the President of the previous year; he adverted to the successful results, and to the general gratification, which had attended the Meeting of the Institute at York, under the auspices of the EARL FITZWILLIAM, and the vote of thanks, seconded by MR. BRITTON, was carried by acclamation.

The REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, at the request of the President, read a dissertation on the nature and purpose of Topography, and the means which tend to the successful prosecution of topographical research. This valuable memoir is printed in another part of this volume\*.

The MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE warmly eulogized the labours of Mr. Hunter in the field of enquiry, to which he had ably called the attention of the Meeting, by the valuable discourse, forming so appropriate a prelude to the proceedings of the Institute on this occasion.

\* See p. 69.

The MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON seconded the vote of thanks proposed by DR. WHEWELL. He took occasion to allude to the invitation received by the Institute from the Dean of Ely, to visit the interesting cathedral there, during the time of the present Meeting. The restorations, which had been carried on with the utmost care, had already effected much for the preservation of that noble structure; the noble Marquis hoped that the Dean would consider this as a visit only of inspection, and that, when these important works were further advanced, the Institute might have the gratification of assembling at Ely, on some future occasion.

The President, on quitting the chair, announced, that, as an appropriate antiquarian pageantry on the present occasion, the "whiffers," in accordance with an ancient usage of the city, on occasions of public assembly, would attend in their antiquated costume, such as they had been accustomed to display, when walking before the Mayor, or at times of civic ceremony in Norwich. The whiffers, attired in their peculiar motley dresses, and waving their wooden swords, as in former times, then entered, and moved around the hall; after which, the Meeting being adjourned, they proved highly serviceable as an escort, preceding the President and his friends, and effectually clearing the way, the streets being thronged in consequence of the city election, then commencing.

The afternoon was devoted to the examination of objects in the immediate neighbourhood of Norwich; especially to a visit to Caistor Camp, the important vestiges of Roman occupation, the church erected within the area of the station, and the curious remains in the grounds of Mrs. Dashwood, adjacent to that remarkable locality, including some buildings of considerable interest, recently investigated, through the spirited exertions and direction of Sir John Boileau. Every facility was afforded, with the most kind courtesy, by Mrs. Dashwood, to the visitors who availed themselves of her friendly permission to examine these remains, and the collection of ancient relics discovered at various times upon her property.

In the evening a conversazione was held at the City Library, the LORD BISHOP in the chair.

A memoir was read on the Roman Camp at Caistor, visited in the earlier part of the day, and on the site of VENTA ICENORUM. These notices, communicated in a letter to MR. DAWSON TURNER, had been prepared by MR. HUDSON GURNEY, who with much kindness had caused copies to be printed and presented to the Members of the Institute, to aid their researches in viewing this interesting locality<sup>b</sup>.

The following communications were then read.

Memoirs on the bishops and dignitaries of the church of Norwich, who had occupied the office of Chancellor of England, or had held high legal

<sup>b</sup> The memoir, subsequently revised by Mr. Gurney, has by his kind permission, been given in this volume. See p. 1.

appointments, in the eight years succeeding the Conquest. By EDWARD FOSS, Esq., F.S.A.<sup>c</sup>

On the course of the Icknild Way, as connected with Norwich Castle. By ARTHUR TAYLOR, Esq., F.S.A.

FRIDAY, JULY 30.

A Meeting of the Section of Antiquities took place at ten o'clock in the Court Room, at the Guild Hall; the chair being taken by the MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON. The following memoirs were read.

Notices of celt-moulds of stone and bronze, with observations upon the peculiarities of ancient weapons called celts. By GEO. V. DU NOYER, Esq.<sup>d</sup> These remarks were illustrated by numerous drawings executed by that gentleman, exhibiting celt-moulds preserved in the British Museum, and in the collections of the Royal Irish Academy and the University of Dublin. A curious bronze mould, recently discovered at Unthank's Road, near Norwich, and sent for exhibition in the Museum of the Institute, was submitted to the Meeting, with a cast from the unique mould of hone-stone, found in Anglesea, and now in the Museum of James Dearden, Esq., of Rochdale<sup>e</sup>.

Notices of the structure of the Roman fortifications at Brancaster, Norfolk. Illustrated by plans and sections. By the REV. JAMES LEE WARNER, Incumbent of Old Walsingham.

The Historical Section assembled in the Council Chamber, at the Guild Hall, MR. HALLAM presiding; and the following memoirs were read.

On certain Guilds formerly existing in the town of Little Walsingham, Norfolk. By MR. JOSEPH BURTT.

Observations on the law terms during the reign of the Conqueror, by EDWARD FOSS, Esq. The origin of the existing terms had been supposed by legal antiquaries, to date from the reign of Edward the Elder, and it was asserted that they had been confirmed by the Confessor. Mr. Foss stated his opinion that, in the times of the Conqueror there were only three terms, namely, at the times when the king is recorded to have worn his crown,—at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. The institution of a Michaelmas term had arisen from the resumption of business, which had been adjourned on account of the harvest.

Soon after twelve, the meetings adjourned, and the Members re-assembled in the spacious room at the City Library, where a meeting of the Architectural Section took place, the chair being taken by the MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DR. WHEWELL, in the absence of the Dean of Ely, President of the Section.

<sup>c</sup> Subsequently incorporated by the author in his memoirs of eminent legal functionaries.

<sup>d</sup> Since printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iv. p. 327.

<sup>e</sup> See the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii. p. 257. A representation of the bronze mould found near Norwich is given amongst the illustrations of the *Museum Catalogue*, in this volume.



PROFESSOR WILLIS delivered his discourse on the Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral, and the adjacent monastic buildings, illustrated by plans, prepared for the occasion from careful survey.

At the close of these proceedings, the numerous assembly dispersed to visit the Museum of the Institute then first opened at the Swan Hotel, the castle, churches, and numerous interesting objects in Norwich. In the course of the afternoon PROFESSOR WILLIS resumed his interesting elucidation of the Cathedral, and was accompanied by a large audience in the examination of that structure and the surrounding buildings; the foundations of the ancient hall of the episcopal palace were exposed to view, by the kind permission of the Lord Bishop, and the plan of that structure, attributed to Bishop Salmon, towards the close of the thirteenth century, was distinctly pointed out, in connexion with the beautiful gateway, still standing, in the palace gardens.

The evening had been reserved for the *conversazione* at the palace, to which the President had with the most cordial hospitality invited the Members of the Institute, and all visitors attending the Meeting. The kindness with which the Lord Bishop and Mrs. Stanley welcomed their numerous guests must long be remembered with high gratification. The ancient parts of the palace, the curious groined chambers in the basement and cellars were lighted up for the inspection of the visitors<sup>†</sup>: the apartment wainscoted with the curious carved oaken panelling from Holm Abbey, and the various antique features of the episcopal mansion, were examined. Every arrangement was made for the gratification of the company: in the drawing room many works of art and valuable antiquarian drawings were displayed, amongst which the choice collection of drawings by Mr. Digby Wyatt, chiefly made in Italy, were viewed with especial interest. Madrigals and glees were performed at intervals by a party of the cathedral choir, under the direction of the talented organist, Mr. Buck; these melodies being chiefly selected from Wilbye, Gironimo Converso, and the earlier composers.

#### SATURDAY, JULY 31.

An excursion was arranged for this day, by special train at eight o'clock, to Binham Priory and Walsingham, visiting on the way East Dereham,—the burial-place of Cowper, the fine church, and its font, one of the most striking examples of its age, St. Withburga's well, Fakenham, Little and Great Snoring, and various interesting architectural remains, to which the useful notes, prepared with great care by Mr. Parker, formed a very valuable guide. The beautiful ruins of Binham, remote and rarely visited

<sup>†</sup> An interesting view of the groined kitchen was taken by Mr. Philip Delamotte, and reproduced in lithography by Messrs. Day and Haghe.

by the antiquary, were examined with especial interest; and, refreshed by the hospitality kindly tendered by Mr. England, who resides on the adjoining farm, the party proceeded to Walsingham. Having examined the Norman church of Old Walsingham, they entered the town, once the busy resort of pilgrims thronging to the neighbouring shrine; the archæologists proceeded to the priory, and were received with the most cordial and hospitable welcome by the Rev. D. H. Lee Warner, in whose demesne the interesting ruins are preserved. His mansion and grounds were thrown open with very gratifying liberality, and the various remains surrounding this picturesque locality were visited, under the guidance of his son, the Rev. James Lee Warner, who pointed out the vestiges of the monastic buildings,—the fine remains of the chapel of our Lady, the refectory, the holy wells; and lastly, the party proceeded to the parish church, a Perpendicular structure, containing a font of admirable design, and to the ruins of the Franciscan Friary. The day being now far advanced, the company started on their return to Norwich, making a brief halt, first, to inspect the beautiful little chapel of Houghton-in-the-Dale, and afterwards to visit the ancient mansion of the Fermors, East Barsham Hall, one of the finest existing examples of the moulded brickwork of the times of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., whence, as it is stated, the last named monarch once took his departure on pilgrimage to Walsingham. It was nearly nine before all were re-assembled at the Dereham station, and the special train then speedily brought them back to Norwich.

#### MONDAY, AUGUST 2.

This day was appropriated to an excursion, comprising objects not inferior in interest to any previously visited by the Institute. The first was the remarkable Roman fortress, on the river Waveney, the site of *Garianonum*. At ten o'clock a train conveyed the Members to the Berney Arms station, where steamers were in readiness for the passage to Burgh. It was with especial gratification that the Members of the Institute found themselves assembled within the venerable walls of Burgh Castle, to receive the welcome of the courteous and spirited proprietor, Sir John Boileau, who, in the previous year, when these remains were threatened with destruction, for the formation of a railway, had become purchaser of the site, and preserved the fortress from the risk of being sacrificed to reckless speculation. Sir John had caused partial excavations to be made, with the view of ascertaining the precise dimensions of the entrance gates and walls, and to examine the nature of the foundations. He pointed out to his visitors the eastern and northern *portæ*, which had been thus satisfactorily ascertained, and directed their attention to other interesting details in the construction of the fortress. A discussion ensued regarding the assertion of Mr. Ives, that the foundations appeared

to have been laid on concrete covered with oaken planks. The **REV. CHARLES HARTSHORNE** addressed the assembly, and explained the character of the building, and its value as an example of Roman construction, compared with other like works, to which he had devoted much attention. The company then dispersed to examine the church of Burgh, with the round tower peculiar to East Anglia; and having been hospitably entertained at the rectory house by the Rev. Charles Green, proceeded by water to Yarmouth, where the mayor, W. N. Burroughes, Esq., and the municipal authorities awaited their arrival, at the Town Hall, and expressed in a most gratifying manner to the Lord Bishop and Members of the Institute the cordial feeling with which their visit to his ancient town was regarded.

Yarmouth presented many attractions to the archæologist; some of the visitors proceeded to pay their respects to Mr. Dawson Turner, who was unhappily confined to his house by severe indisposition, and whose precious collections of works of art and literary treasures, especially those illustrative of the history and antiquities of his county, are of surpassing interest. The fine remains of ancient domestic architecture in the town were examined, the ruins of the Priory and the Toll-House Hall, but the chief object of attraction was the church, then in course of restoration by the care of the Rev. H. Mackenzie, under the charge of Mr. Hakewill. Here **PROFESSOR WILLIS** offered some interesting observations. The original fabric was erected, as it had been recorded, by Bishop Herbert de Losinga, but the work had given place to a more spacious structure, in the fourteenth century. It supplies, as explained by the Professor, a curious example of the progressive enlargement of churches, in accordance with the requirements of an increasing population. The church now consists of three aisles, the central one narrower than the others; originally, no doubt, the three had been of the customary proportions, respectively, and on close examination it was evident that the narrow side aisles had been removed to make place for more spacious accommodation; or rather, probably, the new and wider aisles had been gradually erected as funds were obtained, and the original aisles left standing within, till the completion of the work, and its being roofed in. Thus the services would not be interrupted. The south aisle first had been thus renewed, but the alterations appeared all to have been completed in about fifty years. A tower and transepts were then added, and subsequently a very spacious chancel, with side aisles, remarkable, as shewing evidence of progressive changes similar to those found in the nave, and also for certain interesting features, to which the attention of the company was directed by the Professor.

The Marquis of Northampton, the Dean of Westminster, and a party of about forty, unwearied by the exertion of the morning, then hastened towards Caister Castle, the ancient residence of Sir John Fastolfe, a most picturesque moated structure, wholly constructed of brick. Here again an

entertainment had been prepared with hearty old English hospitality by the tenant, Mr. Everett. The archæologists were, however, compelled to hasten back from the examination of this curious relic of domestic architecture, combined with certain castellated features, and returned to the public dinner at the Town Hall, where the worshipful the Mayor presided. This convivial meeting was of a most agreeable character; the hearty expression of cordial feeling and interest in the objects of the Institute, the striking addresses by the Lord Bishop, the Marquis of Northampton, Sir John Boileau and others, with the eloquence of Mr. Bancroft, the Minister from the United States, combined to impress all present with feelings of high gratification. At the close of the repast a large party were invited by Mr. Charles J. Palmer, to visit his residence, a beautiful example of the "Elizabethan" style of decoration. To the care and exertions of that gentleman in the well-concerted arrangements for this visit to Yarmouth, the Institute was chiefly indebted for the enjoyment and satisfaction which was generally expressed.

#### TUESDAY, AUGUST 3.

The proceedings commenced at ten o'clock, with a meeting of the Section of Antiquities, which assembled at the Council Chamber, the Marquis of Northampton presiding.

RICHARD WESTMACOTT, Esq., A.R.A., read an interesting dissertation on the sculptures recently brought from Nimroud, and deposited in the British Museum<sup>§</sup>. He stated his opinion that they are not works of the remote antiquity which some had assigned to them, the style of sculpture being considerably advanced beyond the primitive attempts at imitative art; and offered his reasons for supposing them to be not more ancient than 650 to 620 years B.C.

The following memoirs were also read:—Notice of the unique head of Serapis, found at Felmingham, Norfolk, with Roman remains. By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq. The head is remarkable as having a crescent on the forehead, instead of the *modius*. It was exhibited in the temporary Museum of the Institute<sup>h</sup>.

On Precatory or Mortuary Rolls, and the usages in monastic establishments connected with them. By JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq., F.S.A. A very curious illuminated roll, written on the decease of John Wygenhale, abbot of East Dereham, Norfolk, who died about 1450, and preserved amongst the muniments of Sir Thomas Hare, Bart., was, by his kind permis-

<sup>§</sup> This paper was subsequently printed in the *Athenæum* of August 7.

<sup>h</sup> A representation of this curious object is given in the illustrations of the Museum

catalogue in this volume. An account of the discovery, and of the objects found with the head, is given by Mr. Hart in his "Antiquities of Norfolk."

sion through the Rev. George Dashwood, exhibited to the Meeting<sup>1</sup>, with a fragment of a similar document relating to Ouston abbey, Leicestershire, from the collections of Mr. Nichols.

Notices of certain curious sepulchral effigies in the cathedrals of Norwich and Ely. By MATTHEW HOLBECH BLOXAM, Esq.

Dissertation on the Pageantries of the Guild of St. George, Norwich. By W. C. EWING, Esq. This communication was of much local interest, being the result of detailed enquiries regarding the ancient civic pageantries, the subject of a work which Mr. Ewing proposes shortly to publish. He exhibited a very curious collection of old designs, in which the various personages who performed parts in these gorgeous divertisements were represented; as also the monstrous figure called "Snap," a dragon, still preserved in the Guildhall, and the various accompaniments of these exhibitions, retained in Norwich until the change in municipal corporations, more fully than in other towns, but of which the "whifflers," who had appeared at the initiatory Meeting of the Institute in Norwich, at St. Andrew's Hall, are now the only vestige.

Account of the Church goods of the parish of St. Andrew, Norwich, and of some proceedings respecting them, in the reign of Edward VI. By the REV. JOSEPH HUNTER.

A Meeting of the Historical Section then followed, the chair being taken by HENRY HALLAM, Esq. The following communications were received.

A few notes respecting the Bishops of East Anglia. By JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE, Esq. This valuable memoir is given in this volume.

Enumeration of the subsidy-paying population of Norwich, as it existed in the 6th Edward III. By the REV. JOSEPH HUNTER.

On the history of the Saxon kings of East Anglia. By THOMAS STAPLETON, Esq., V.P.S.A.

At two o'clock the Architectural Section assembled in the City library. The Dean of Ely being still detained from the Meeting, the chair was taken by the DEAN OF HEREFORD, one of the Vice-Presidents of the section.

The REV. CHARLES HARTSHORNE exhibited a series of drawings, illustrative of the peculiarities of Roman construction, which he explained in connection with the observations he had offered on a previous day within the ancient walls of *Garianonum*.

JOHN BRITTON, Esq., F.S.A., delivered a dissertation on ancient gate-houses, castellated, domestic and ecclesiastical, especially referring to those in the city of Norwich. It will be found in this volume. A valuable series of illustrations were exhibited, comprising subjects from all countries, and

<sup>1</sup> A representation of this remarkable roll is given in this volume with Mr. Nichols' Memoir. See page 99.

an interesting collection of original sketches of the gate-houses of Norwich, taken by John Carter in 1786, when eleven of the twelve city gates still existed <sup>k</sup>.

Another collection of views of these gates were exhibited in the Museum of the Institute during the Meeting, by SETH STEVENSON, Esq., F.S.A., and excited much interest. They were executed by Mr. Ninham, sen., with the utmost accuracy by aid of the *camera obscura*.

The DEAN OF ELY, having arrived during this Meeting, and taken the chair, warmly expressed to Mr. Britton the thanks of the Society, and the feelings with which archæologists must regard the long and important services rendered by him to science. The Dean took the occasion also of renewing, on the part of the Bishop and dignitaries of Ely, the invitation to the Institute to visit the cathedral, and inspect the progress of the restorations.

The REV. JOHN GUNN then read two memoirs relating to early ecclesiastical architecture in Norfolk; the first, on the church of Beeston St. Lawrence, and other examples of early date, near Norwich; the second, on the changes in the substitution of the rectangular for the apsidal form of churches. His observations were illustrated by drawings from the skilful pencil of Mrs. Gunn.

MR. KERR laid before the Meeting a plan of the Dominican Friary, prepared for this occasion, with observations on its arrangement, the nave of the ancient church being now known as "St. Andrew's Hall," in which the first assembly of the Institute had taken place; the chancel is used as the workhouse chapel.

A memoir on Wymondham church, by the REV. J. L. PETIT, was also received, and it is given in the present volume, with illustrations supplied by his liberal kindness.

The proceedings of the day closed with the public dinner, at the Swan Hotel, the Right Rev. the President took the chair, and it was attended by a numerous and distinguished party.

#### WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4.

Shortly after nine a special train started for Ely, conveying the President, with about one hundred and fifty archæologists and residents in Norwich, who took part in the Meeting. The train stopped at Wymondham, to permit them to visit the interesting remains of the priory and church, the striking features of which are admirably set forth by Mr. Petit in the memoir, above mentioned, the reading of which, owing to his unavoidable absence, had been deferred. Proceeding to Ely, the visitors were wel-

<sup>k</sup> They are given in his "Ancient Architecture," p. xliii.

comed with the most kind reception by the Lord Bishop and the Dean. Through their special invitation the Meeting of the Institute in Norfolk had gained the interesting addition to the proceedings, in the opportunity of examining this striking cathedral and the restorations zealously and admirably prosecuted through the exertions of the Dean and Chapter. The party, having received a large accession of numbers from the University of Cambridge and neighbourhood, were conducted through the cathedral, and PROFESSOR WILLIS, although unprepared for the occasion, delivered a very instructive discourse on its interesting features.

Ely cathedral, he observed, had a much more striking aspect than that of Norwich, and it claims close attention as bearing on the history of architecture, and enabling us to form an adequate notion of the appearance of the church in its primitive days. In most churches the construction of the nave appeared to have preceded that of the transepts, but here it would seem that the transepts were first built. Mouldings were not introduced in the earlier period, and here, in the transepts, the arches had few mouldings, whilst in the nave they all had them. A very peculiar feature of the fabric was the octagon lantern, of admirable beauty and proportion. Originally there was a central tower of stone, as at Norwich, and the Professor explained the manner in which he supposed this tower to have been supported. The cathedral has, besides the principal transepts, a western transept, forming a magnificent kind of vestibule to the church. This feature is of rare occurrence: it is however found in Peterborough cathedral, and another example existed at Bury St. Edmund's. Only a portion of this transept now exists; the northern part having been either demolished, or fallen; no account has been preserved of its destruction; but there is evidence that it was perfect until the times of the Reformation. At the intersection of the western transept and the nave, there was a lofty tower, erected by Bishop Ridel, in the twelfth century; such towers were common at the period immediately following the Conquest. The entrance of the cathedral is through a porch or portico, called the Galilee, and mentioned by that name in ancient records. A building at the western end of Durham cathedral is also called a Galilee, a term which had been variously interpreted, but the opinions of writers on ecclesiastical architecture, in regard to this designation, were far from satisfactory. The Galilee at Ely was erected by Bishop Eustachius, about 1200.

The Professor remarked that the Norman portion of the structure was erected by Abbot Simeon, brother of Walkelyn, Bishop of Winchester, about the same period as the commencement of the cathedral of that city; many points of resemblance may be traced in the two structures, especially in the triforium and clerestory. Simeon completed only as much as was required for the services of the church, the nave being finished before 1174, and closed in with a timber roof covered with lead, and left unceiled within.



The choir was originally under the tower, or to the west of it. The church had probably terminated originally with a circular apse, demolished by Bishop Northwold, in order to construct a choir eastward of the tower, in which the shrine of Etheldreda, the patroness, might be more suitably placed, towards the extreme eastern end, the position accounted most holy. In 1321 the central tower accidentally fell, and destroyed the eastern part of the fabric. Alan de Walsingham, the sacrist, afterwards prior, was the architect by whose skill this portion of the church had been rebuilt; he devised with great skill the construction of the octagonal tower, dividing the weight upon eight piers, which had previously rested upon four only. It was found, however, that the roof of this beautiful tower, if formed of stone, would prove too heavy, and a wooden roof was therefore constructed, the cost of which was known, even to the most minute detail, by the fabric rolls. Professor Willis called attention to the exquisite character of the sculpture, which distinguished the work of Alan de Walsingham: he pointed out some of the bosses and sculptured heads, evidently portraits, of singular interest. Amongst them appear to be those of Edward III. and Philippa, a bishop, and a prior, which he regarded, by comparison with a similar head in Crauden's chapel, as the portrait of that prior. Proceeding into the choir, he pointed out the spot where as he conceived, the high altar and shrine of the saint had been placed, indicated by two sculptured bosses above, representing St. Peter, and St. Etheldreda, to whom the church was jointly dedicated; the latter being to the eastward, where, probably, behind the high altar, her relics had been enshrined. The Professor directed the attention of the audience to the fine ancient stall-work, probably of the time of Alan de Walsingham, the remarkable monuments, and the chantry chapels of Bishop Alcock and Bishop West, with their exquisite sculptures and tabernacle-work. He then led them to the Lady Chapel, a striking work of the times of Edward III., the interior exhibiting a most curious series of sculptures in relief, which appear to represent subjects from the legend of the Blessed Virgin, and miracles attributed to her intercession. The tracery of the windows, the groined roof, and other remarkable features of this chapel deserve the most careful examination. It is now used as a parish church, being detached from the cathedral, from which the approach was by a long passage on the north-west side of the choir.

Through the gardens of the deanery the visitors then passed to the infirmary, erroneously regarded as the original Saxon church of Etheldreda, but the Professor remarked that it is evidently of a period a little earlier only than the west end. The infirmary resembles a church, having a central and side aisles. This interesting visit concluded with the examination of Prior Crauden's chapel, which is replete with beautiful detail in the windows, the peculiar tracery and decorative tabernacle-work. He called especial



attention to the pavement, which is of complex design, and laid with variously coloured tiles; the figures of animals and other ornamental devices are composed of tiles cut out in irregular forms instead of being delineated on rectangular tiles, as is customary in medieval pavements.

We regret that we can give only a brief and imperfect notice of a discourse, in which Professor Willis gave, on the mere impulse of the occasion, a masterly sketch of the architectural history of this remarkable cathedral structure.

The most kind hospitality was shewn to the Institute: a numerous party were entertained by the Bishop; the deanery was thrown open to a distinguished assemblage; and many were welcomed with hearty cordiality by Mr. Canon Sparke.

At four o'clock the company re-united to attend the service in the cathedral; and, at its close, some of the archæologists took their departure for London, whilst many returned towards Norwich, in order to join in the proceedings of the following, the closing day of the Meeting.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 5.

At ten o'clock a Meeting assembled at the council chamber, and various memoirs, unavoidably deferred at the previous Sectional Meetings, were read. The first was by the REV. HENRY MACKENZIE, Vicar of Yarmouth, whose friendly reception had contributed so largely to the gratification of the society on a previous day. His communication was entitled,—An attempt to establish the priority of the Dynasty of East-Anglia over that of Wessex. The period usually ascribed to the foundation of the latter by Cerdic is A.D. 519, whilst the year 575 is fixed as the foundation of the East-Anglian kingdom by Uffa. Mr. Mackenzie's arguments rested chiefly upon the supposed statement of certain historians that Cerdic had landed in East-Anglia, more than twenty years previously to the origin of the kingdom of Wessex; the place of his landing, called Cerdicesore by the chroniclers, being assigned to the mouth of the Yare. This opinion, however, was controverted by Mr. Kemble and others who have devoted attention to this period; the locality, where the descent of Cerdic took place, is supposed to have been on the coasts of Hampshire or the Isle of Wight.

The REV. JOHN GUNN then read an "Historical record of earthquakes felt in Norfolk, and of the effects produced by them." Ancient chronicles have recorded earthquakes in the years 1165, 1382, 1480, and 1487.

MR. HUDSON TURNER read an highly curious narrative of the revolt of the citizens of Norwich, A.D. 1272, when the cathedral was burned, with remarks on the character and extent of the franchise of the prior within the city liberties. He called attention to the account of this rebellion against the bishop and monks of Norwich given in the Chronicle of London, the

"*Liber de Antiquis Legibus*," edited by Mr. Stapleton for the Camden Society.

The REV. JOSEPH HUNTER read an account of the topographical collections, and valuable works of art or relics of antiquity, formerly in the possession of Dr. Cox Macro, at Little Haugh, near Bury St. Edmund's. He made some introductory remarks regarding early collectors, with a biographical notice of Dr. Macro, who was chaplain to George I., and died in 1767. A catalogue of his treasures of an historical and documentary nature had been made in the previous year: they comprised numerous autograph letters of high interest; monastic cartularies and registers, and a large collection of early charters, of which many are now in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps; a portion, principally letters of the Protestant martyrs, have passed into the invaluable collections of Mr. Dawson Turner, and the historical part is now in the possession of Mr. Hudson Gurney.

A short communication was made by CAPTAIN BLAKISTON on the biography and genius of Sir Thomas Brown. MR. FITCH laid before the Meeting an impression from the inscribed plate on Sir Thomas Brown's coffin. The inscription on this interesting relic will be found in the descriptive Catalogue of the Museum.

The time fixed for the closing General Meeting having arrived, the chair was taken by the Lord Bishop.

The proceedings commenced by reading the Annual Report, which, after alluding to the increasing degree of public support and encouragement shewn towards the Institute, during the past year, the accession of upwards of two hundred subscribing Members since their last Meeting, at York, and the gratifying advance of a more just appreciation of archæological studies, passed in review the general proceedings of the Society during the year. The Report adverted to the progress of an intelligent interest in the preservation of ancient remains. The occasions in which the Central Committee had been enabled to interfere, to arrest the destruction of ancient buildings, had not been of frequent occurrence, or of great moment. The more that public attention is awakened to the necessity of vigilantly guarding the antiquities of this country, the fewer occasions will there be for such interference. In certain cases, however, in which the Committee had used their best endeavours to arrest the alteration or removal of such remains, their remonstrance had been invariably received with the most courteous attention; not many years had passed since such appeals would have been unheeded or treated with open contempt.

The Report detailed the course which had been adopted regarding the Meetings periodically held in London. With the view of obtaining, if possible, some general data for the proper investigation of ancient remains, and the systematic arrangement of the great mass of isolated facts constantly brought under notice, the Committee had determined to hold a

series of Meetings, at each of which a special branch of archæological research had been selected for discussion and illustration. These Meetings had proved eminently successful in eliciting and combining much valuable information ; and the facilities thus obtained for the comparison of numerous objects analogous in kind, but differing in individual character, had corrected many erroneous views, and established general principles for the direction of future research.

Amongst the publications produced under the direction of the Committee during the year, they alluded with much gratification to the completion of the undertaking, so ably carried out by Mr. NEWTON, in the preparation of a map of British and Roman Yorkshire, of which a number of copies were now ready for delivery, and were laid before the Meeting. The Committee entertained the hope that this map, the first step towards a scientific and accurate knowledge of the geography of ancient Britain, might excite antiquaries to prosecute so desirable an object in other counties.

The Report closed with an allusion to the gratifying evidence of a lively taste for archæology in East Anglia, afforded by the fact, that the most important museum, collected temporarily under the auspices of the Institute,—the most extended and instructive series of examples from the earliest periods, ever perhaps brought together and classified, in these kingdoms, should have been formed almost entirely from the numerous collections of Norfolk, Norwich and the eastern counties. It could not be questioned that this taste had been materially aroused, and would be stimulated and fostered, by the efforts of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society ; the Committee confidently trusted that the present visit of the Institute might have given an additional impetus to the study of antiquity in the district, which might be productive of future results.

The Report having been adopted unanimously, announcement was made that the following Members of the Central Committee had been selected, to go out, in the customary rotation.

The LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD, Vice-President.  
The Ven. ARCHDEACON HALE.  
THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, Esq.  
Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER.  
AMBROSE POYNTER, Esq.  
WILLIAM J. THOMS, Esq.  
HORACE H. WILSON, Esq.

The following gentlemen were recommended by the Committee, to supply the vacancies.

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, as Vice-President.  
EDWIN GUEST, Esq., M.A.  
HENRY HALLAM, Esq., V.P.S.A.  
ANDREW LAWSON, Esq., M.P.

The Rev. HENRY H. MILMAN.

HENRY REEVE, Esq., Privy Council Office.

EDWARD SMIRKE, Esq.

Also that the following Members of the Institute were recommended as Auditors for 1847.

JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE, Esq., and

FREDERIC OUVRY, Esq.

On the motion of the President, these arrangements were carried unanimously.

Certain changes in the laws of the Institute, of which due notice had been sent to the Central Committee, in accordance with the prescribed regulation, were then submitted; and the votes of the Meeting having been taken on these alterations, the chief effect of which was that an Annual Meeting should thenceforth take place in London, in the second week in May, for receiving the Auditors' report, and for general business, they were adopted unanimously.

The LORD BISHOP then called the attention of the Meeting to the selection of the place of assembly for the ensuing year. Lincoln was recommended by the Central Committee, the Institute having on a previous occasion been honoured by receiving, through SIR CHARLES ANDERSON, Bart., a very cordial invitation from the county of Lincoln, subscribed by the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, with many of the gentry of the county, the municipal authorities and influential inhabitants of the city. After some discussion on the propriety of selecting, on as early an occasion as possible, one of the cathedral cities in the southern or western counties, for a Meeting of the Institute, the question was put to the vote, and it was resolved that the next Annual Meeting should be held at Lincoln.

On the motion of the Lord Bishop, the EARL BROWNLOW, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Lincoln, was unanimously declared President elect.

The following votes of thanks were then proposed, and passed most cordially.

To the Lord Lieutenant, Patron of the Meeting, to the county Magistrates, by whose kind permission facility of access to the castle of Norwich had been enjoyed; and to the nobility and gentry of Norfolk, for their liberal support and encouragement.

Moved by Mr. Stapleton, and seconded by Professor Sedgwick.

To the Very Rev. the Dean, and the Canons of the Cathedral, for their kindness in giving free access to the Cathedral and adjacent buildings. —To the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich, by whose kindness the Guildhall and St. Andrew's Hall had been placed at the disposal of the Institute.

Proposed by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, and seconded by Mr. Kemble.

To the Lord Bishop of Ely, the Dean and Canons of Ely; to Sir John Boileau, Bart., the Mayor of Yarmouth, Mrs. Dashwood, Mr. Lee Warner, Mr. England, of Binham Priory, the Rev. Charles Green, the Rev. Henry Mackenzie, Mr. C. J. Palmer, and Mr. Everett, of Caister, for the kindness and hospitality with which the Institute had been welcomed in the course of the several excursions.

Moved by the Dean of Hereford, and seconded by Mr. Crabbe Robinson.

To Mr. Hudson Gurney, for the cordial interest he had shewn in promoting the success of the Meeting, and for his memoir upon Venta, presented to the Institute:—to Mr. Dawson Turner, for the liberality with which he had contributed from his invaluable East Anglian collections many drawings and objects of interest, exhibited in the Museum.

Moved by Sir John Boileau, Bart., and seconded by Thomas Brightwell, Esq.

To the Lord Hastings, the Lady Suffield of Blickling, the Lord Stafford, Sir Robert and Lady Buxton, and the numerous contributors to the temporary Museum: to Mr. Ewing and Mr. Fitch, the curators of that striking collection; and to the authors of the valuable memoirs communicated to the Sections.

Moved by Capt. Elakiston, R.N., and seconded by John Noble, Esq., F.S.A.

To the Rev. Samuel Stone, for the advantage conceded in the use of the City Library; to the Council of management of the Norwich Museum, for free access to that interesting collection; to the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, to Mr. Minty and Mr. Harrod, Secretaries of that Society, and to the Rev. James Bulwer, for their valuable co-operation and assistance throughout the arrangements of the Meeting.

Moved by Mr. Hawkins, and seconded by Mr. Way.

To His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, Mr. Stapleton, the Rev. J. L. Petit, and all whose liberality had contributed towards the illustration of the antiquities of the county of York, and the volume now ready for delivery to the Society.

Moved by Mr. Blaauw, and seconded by Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart.

A communication from Mr. Henry Reeve was then read, stating, that being called back to London, before the close of the Meeting, he was unable personally to lay before the Society an appeal in regard to the intended sale of Shakspeare's house. He was desirous of informing them what had already been done, in order to obviate the risk of its passing into unworthy or foreign hands; the energy with which the Shakspearian Society of Stratford had taken up the matter; the formation of a Committee in the metropolis, and especially the interest and cordial sanction expressed by his R. H. Prince Albert, on this occasion. He hoped that the Institute would readily evince their approval of the pro-

posal to purchase Shakspeare's house, as an object deserving of national care ; and give their co-operation with those who had pledged themselves to promote the undertaking.

MR. KEMBLE addressed the Meeting on the subject of Mr. Reeve's appeal, and after an animated discussion as to the best mode of proceeding in regard to the approaching sale of the house, a Committee was appointed, to communicate with the London Committee, and adopt such measures as might be deemed advisable in reference to this proposition.

It was suggested, that, as the immediate dispersion of the temporary Museum of the Institute would deprive many of the gratification and instruction, to be derived from detailed examination of its contents, it appeared advisable to keep it open for another week. A proposal, made by Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart., that for three days a small payment should be required from all who had not taken tickets for the Meeting, the admission for the three subsequent days to be gratuitous, was adopted.

At the termination of these proceedings the Dean of Hereford proposed, and the Rev. Charles Hartshorne seconded, an expression of most cordial thanks to the Lord Bishop of Norwich, President of the Institute, for his great kindness to the Members of the Society, severally and collectively ; for the extreme interest which he had evinced on every occasion in promoting the welfare of the Institute, and ensuring the gratification of every person assembled on this occasion. The resolution was carried enthusiastically.

The Lord Bishop returned thanks for the warmth with which this acknowledgment had been conveyed. He expressed in most gratifying terms the satisfaction, which in common with many of his friends and neighbours in the county, he had derived from the proceedings of the Meeting, now concluded. The assembly then dispersed.

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The following communications were announced as unavoidably deferred for want of sufficient time.

Notices of the remains of Wymondham Priory.—By REV. J. L. PETIT.

Some account of an interesting example of domestic architecture at Birts Morton, Worcestershire, an ancient seat of the Nanfan family, and of a curious sepulchral memorial in the church at that place.—By W. H. GOMONDE, Esq., of Cheltenham.

Notice of the Church of Edington, Wilts, built by William of Edington, predecessor of Wykeham in the see of Winchester, and of its value as an example serving to establish the period of the introduction of the Perpendicular style of Gothic architecture.—By the REV. EDWARD WILTON.

Extracts from the rolls of household expenses of the Lestrangle family, illustrative of domestic manners in the fourteenth century.—By HENRY LE STRANGE STYLEMAN LESTRANGE, Esq., of Hunstanton.

Notes on an interesting painting, a work of Italian art in the fourteenth century, recently brought to light, which probably formed part of the decorations of the Jesus Chapel in Norwich Cathedral.—By ALBERT WAY.

Notes of the plan and arrangement of the circular extremity of the Norman choir at Chester, with a plan of the foundations recently found there during the restoration, giving an additional evidence of the short proportion of Norman choirs, as compared with those of later date.—By RICHARD CHARLES HUSSEY, Esq., F.S.A.

Notices of personal official seals, connected with the county of Norfolk, with illustrations chiefly derived from the muniments of Sir Thomas Hare, Bart.—By the REV. G. H. DASHWOOD.

Description of some curious ancient tombs in Wiltshire.—By DR. TUNSTALL, of Bath.

Notice of a curious household roll of John of Brabant, who espoused Margaret, daughter of Edward I.—By MR. HUDSON TURNER.

Extracts from the ancient gaol delivery rolls of the thirteenth century, containing curious notices of the thieves of Norwich.—By MR. HUDSON TURNER.

On the part taken by Norfolk and Suffolk in the Reformation.—By the REV. ARTHUR P. STANLEY.

The following donations were announced, as contributions towards the general purposes of the Institute.

	£.	s.	d.
The Earl of Leicester, Patron of the Norwich Meeting	- 10	0	0
The Lord Bishop of Norwich	- 10	0	0
The Lord Sondes	- 5	0	0
The Lady Suffield, Blickling	- 5	0	0
Sir John Boileau, Bart.	- 10	0	0
Hudson Gurney, Esq.	- 10	0	0
Daniel Gurney, Esq.	- 5	0	0
Dawson Turner, Esq.	- 2	0	0
The Rev. Professor Sedgwick	- 2	0	0
H. Styleman Lestrangle, Esq.	- 3	0	0
Rev. W. J. Spurdens	- 3	0	0
Henry Birkbeck, Esq.	- 3	0	0
Charles W. Marsham, Esq.	- 1	0	0
T. Brightwell, Esq.	- 1	0	0
H. Godwin Johnson, Esq.	- 1	0	0
Seth W. Stevenson, Esq.	- 1	0	0
R. W. Parmeter, Esq.	- 1	0	0
The Rev. Dr. Barrett, Attleborough	- 0	10	0
The Rev. Samuel Blois Turner	- 2	0	0
H. P. Oakes, Esq.	- 1	0	0
Edmund Sharpe, Esq., Lancaster	- 1	1	0
John Bailey Langhorne, Esq.	- 2	2	0



## CATALOGUE OF ANTIQUITIES.

*Exhibited in the Museum formed during the Annual Meeting of the  
Archæological Institute, held at Norwich, in 1847.*

ANTIQUITIES BROUGHT FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES, COMPRISING VARIOUS RELICS  
OF ANTIQUE ART, EGYPTIAN, ETRUSCAN, GREEK AND ROMAN, NOT CONNECTED  
WITH BRITAIN.

Diana of Ephesus, a *statuette* of very remarkable character, formed of black marble and Oriental alabaster. It was formerly in Dr. Mead's museum, and purchased at his sale in 1755 by Sir Francis St. John, Bart. The following description of this curious image is given in the catalogue of Dr. Mead's collection.—“Diana Ephesia, cujus caput, manus, et pedes ex marmore nigro, cetera ex Alabastrite. Turrim duplicis contignationis capite sustinet, cui hinc inde adjuncti sunt Gryphes alati: ex humeris eucarpus ad imum usque pectus descendit, cujus medio exhibetur Cancer: manus extenduntur, et brachiis insident leones. Infra sinum, inter duos rosarum ordines, tres mammarum prominent, subter quas figuræ humanæ alatæ cum apibus, cervi capite, et ave, apparent: ad imum vero duo taurina capita inter duas apes conspiciuntur.” (Catal. Mead, p. 215.) Compare the representations of similar figures of Diana, Montf. Antiq., tom. i. pl. 93—95.—*The Viscount Acheson.*

A sceptre, consisting of four pieces of Oriental onyx, a portion of the original length being apparently deficient; they are mounted at both ends with silver gilt, and on the extremity is affixed a bronze eagle. This curious object was purchased at the sale of Dr. Mead's collection in 1755, by Sir Francis St. John, who has left a note that it was “said to have been found in the ruins of Augustus Cæsar's palace, at Rome, and therefore supposed to have been his consular sceptre. N. B. That such were used by them, see a print of a cameo among the gems in the Florentine Collection, vol. i. tab. 17.” This sceptre is described in Mead's Catalogue, p. 235.—*The Viscount Acheson.*

The handle of an Etruscan vase, of bronze, of remarkably fine workmanship; an *unguentarium*, in the form of a galeated head, from Cervetri: another of vitreous paste, beautifully ornamented with wavy threads of variously coloured enamels, found at Nola: a beautiful collection of specimens of antique glass and beads, found in the neighbourhood of Rome; five antique fictile lamps, from the same locality, of various forms, one singularly fashioned as a representation of a foot, raised upon the *crepida*; on another is the bust of Mercury. Also a very curious fragment of an ancient fictile lamp, coated with a silvery green glaze, a peculiarity of antique fabrication of exceedingly rare occurrence.—*The Marquis of Northampton.*

A superb bronze Etruscan vase, of large dimensions, with two handles. From the collection at Melton Constable.—*The Lord Hastings.*

A valuable collection of scarabæi, from Etruria, engraved with various devices; they are arranged as a *parure*, comprising necklace, ear-rings, brooch, and rings. They consist of not less than 158 gems, amongst which are numerous Etruscan devices of great curiosity, scarabæi with Egyptian devices, and Roman



scarabæi. The clasp of one row is formed of an ancient Etruscan cornelian, a lion, and a four-sided Egyptian amulet, engraved on each side, is appended. The intaglios with which the rings are set, representing Hercules and the Hydra, and Mercury crowning the dead, have been accounted amongst the finest specimens known of Etruscan art in the engraving of gems. Also, a bracelet composed of twenty-nine uncut emeralds and sapphires, found in Adrian's villa, at Tivoli, and an Etruscan bronze spear-head, found in a tomb at Tuscania.—*The Rev. J. Hamilton Gray, Bolsover Castle.*

An Etruscan vase, of black ware, of very elegant form.—*Mr. John Norgate.*

An Egyptian signet-ring, set with a scarabæus of blue porcelain, bearing the name of the queen Tai, or Taitai, wife of Amenophis III., king of the eighteenth dynasty, *circa* B.C. 1800. It was probably worn by an officer of her court. Several scarabæi recording her marriage exist, one in the Brit. Mus., another in the Liverpool Museum, and a third in the Museum of Sta Caterina, Florence. (Rosell. Mon. Stor., No. xlv.) This scarabæus reads—The king's lady Tai-tai. Also, a signet-ring, inscribed *φιλια*.—*Sir John Boileau, Bart.*

An Egyptian scarabæus; a signet-ring, set with an intaglio, on cornelian, found in the bed of the deserted branch of the Euphrates, in the district of Hamadân, in Persia. The engraving is unfinished, the work is polished in the intaglio, and the date has therefore been supposed not later than the time of the Greeks in Persia, *circa* 325, B.C. Specimens of the glass-mosaic from the ceiling of the porch at the Parthenon, the *tesserae* gilded on one face; also *tesserae* of the usual mosaic flooring, from Pompeii.—*The Rev. Henry Mc Kenzie, Yarmouth.*

A small porcelain figure, from Egypt, found in one of the mummy pits.—*Seth W. Stevenson, Esq., F.S.A.*

A leaden plate, found in a tomb at Cuma, bearing an imprecatory magical inscription in Greek characters. It appears to have been directed by an aggrieved husband against the seducer of his wife. These remarkable inscriptions were termed *defixiones*, in Greek, *καταθέσεις*. See a memoir by G. Henzen on this valuable example, which is now in the possession of the Hon. William Temple, envoy at the court of Naples. A fac-simile is given in the *Annali dell' Instit. di Corrisp. Archeol.*, vol. iii. N. S. p. 203. This curious relic has been assigned to the second or third century.—*Sir John Boileau, Bart.*

A bronze nail, of the same curious class of antiquities as the preceding, inscribed on every side, with the following magical imprecation:—"Domna Artemix kr(i)ne aureas solve catena(s) tuas, en canes tu(o)s agre(s)tes silvaticos, s(i)ve albos s(i)ve qu(i)nque colores, aperta bu(c)ca. Ve(ni) ne a(p)peta(n)t rura res a(r)vaque ve(ni) t(ur)baque rel(i)qua (i)nd(e)cora s(i)t rasa, in corte(m) nostra(m) non intren(t) pecora nostra non tangant, et asinos nostro(s) no(n) moleste(nt) Ter dico, ter incanto, in signu(m) Dei, et signum Salomonis, et signum de domna Art(e)mix." This extraordinary charm measures  $8\frac{1}{4}$  inches in length, including the ornamental head; it is preserved in the collection of the Hon. William Temple. It was first described in a memoir presented to the Scientific Congress at Naples, by Orioli, of Corfu, and subsequently in a notice published at Naples by Giulio Minervini, in 1846. See also the memoir and fac-simile given by Henzen, *Annali dell' Inst. di Corrisp. Archeol.*, vol. iii. N. S. Roma, 1846, p. 214. Two other examples, only, are noticed in these memoirs.—*Sir John Boileau, Bart.*

A bronze lamp, of Greek workmanship, obtained at Naples through the Caval. Delectarius, librarian of the royal library; a remarkable vase, in the form of a female head, and a glass *unguentarium* from Naples: four terra-cottas from Sicily, from the collection of Sir Rufane Donkin, formed during the time when

he served there as adjutant-general with Lord W. Bentinck : a fictile lamp, bearing the impress FORTIS : the handle of an amphora, stated to have been brought from the Isle of Chios, stamped with the inscription, in the Doric dialect—ΕΠΙ ΑΙΝΗΣΙΑΔΑΜΟΤ ΤΑΚΙΝΤΙΟΤ, fabricated “during (the magistracy) of Ainesidemus, in the month Hyacinthus,” supposed to have commenced in the middle of May. By the stamps on the *manubriæ* of similar vessels exported from Rhodes, and found at Athens, Alexandria and in Sicily, the Doric calendar has recently been completed. See Mr. Stoddart’s able paper, Trans. of R. Asiat. Soc., vol. iii. part 1. p. 1. This handle has been published by Mr. Birch, Archæol. Zeitung, N. F. 1. s. 10. n. 25. A Roman flute, the *tibia*, formed from a bone, supposed human, found with numerous Roman remains at Vaisons, near Avignon. Several rings, set with antique intaglios, found in tombs at Vaisons. Also a missile pellet, or *glans*, for the sling, from Syracuse. From the collection at Ketteringham.—*Sir John Boileau, Bart., F.R.S.*

A beautiful Etruscan vase of red ware, in the form of a female head ; the neck and handle of the vase are black ; also a bronze figure of a gladiator, a choice specimen of antique art.—*The Viscount Acheson.*

Two sculptured heads, one representing the Emperor Galba, in *giallo antico* ; brought from Italy.—*P. M. Scott, Esq., M.D.*

Specimens of antique Roman glass, of various colours, from Pompeii : *tesserae* and glass, from Rome.—*Mr. I. Deck.*

EARLY BRITISH ANTIQUITIES. ROMAN ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED IN GREAT BRITAIN, AND ROMANO-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES.

A British cinerary urn, of the earliest age, formed without the use of a lathe, and marked with small chevrony scorings around the upper part. The bottom is somewhat damaged. In its present state it measures, in height, 14 in., circumference, at the largest part, 3 ft. 1½ in., diameter, at the mouth, 11 in. It was found, in 1799, in digging gravel in the parish of Colney, three miles west of Norwich. It was placed inverted, and filled with ashes, burned bones and charcoal ; the mouth of the urn had apparently been closed by a crust of earth, pressed hard into it. It lay about 4 ft. beneath the surface, and some vestiges of a tumulus appeared. Fragments of urns were frequently found in this gravel pit, and some iron spear-heads. See an account of the discovery, and representation of the urn, in Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 1.—*This curious relic, lately in the possession of Mrs. Postle, was exhibited by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.*

Five celts, or axe-heads, of silex, found at various times by the side of the river, a tributary of the Ouse, at Hargham, Norfolk, near the road from Attleborough to Thetford ; also specimens from Attleborough.—*Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart.*

A large celt of white silex, found at Attleborough, 1846.—*Mr. Steggall.*

An axe-head of grit-stone, found at Taesburgh, near Norwich, the supposed AD TAUM of the Roman Itineraries.—*Mr. Robert Fitch.*

A celt of stone ; a stone implement, perforated for a haft, probably the head of a maul ; and a bronze celt, dug up at Fulmodeston, near Derham, Norfolk.—*Mr. R. B. Scraggs.*

A celt, of the chisel form, of silex, found at Marham, 5 miles west of Norwich, very skilfully polished ; length 9 in. ; another, of smaller dimensions, from Necton ; with other examples, found at Holm Hale, Fransham, &c. ; a maul-head from Cotes Common, Sporle, and several fragments of silex, celts, spear-heads, &c., found in Norfolk, in various stages of fabrication.—Beads of blue, mottled-green and red paste, amber, &c., found in a tumulus near Northwold Mill ; some

of them of cylindrical form, and curiously veined with green and yellow colours. Also a single large bead of opaline vitreous paste, found in Chapel Hill, Markshall, near Caistor.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

A maul-head, found at Cannell Lodge; a similar specimen was exhibited by Mr. Scraggs. (Compare Sir R. C. Hoare, Upton Lovel, pl. v.)—*Sir John Boileau, Bart.*

A bronze celt, discovered at Wisset, in Suffolk.—*The Rev. Samuel Blois Turner.*

Two bronze celts, found near Castle Rising, Norfolk.—*Mr. Charles Lock.*

A bronze mould for fabricating celts, discovered, with a large collection of celts of similar form, but not precisely fitting the mould, and spear-heads, on the Unthank Road, near Norwich; they were found under the roots of an aged oak-tree. See representations of similar celt-moulds of bronze, given, with a memoir by Mr. Du Noyer, in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iv. p. 327\*.—*Mr. C. W. Unthank.*

Cast in plaster of Paris, from an unique mould for the fabrication of celts, spear-heads and arrows. Only a moiety of the mould was found, formed so as to serve for casting four different kinds of weapons of bronze. It was made of hone-stone, and was discovered between Bodwrdin and Tre Ddafydd, on the western side of the Isle of Anglesea. Dimensions  $9\frac{1}{4}$  in. by 2 in. greatest breadth. See a description of it in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii. p. 257. Now in the collection of James Dearden, Esq., F.S.A., of Rochdale.—*Mr. Albert Way.*

A bronze arrow, or javelin, head, found in a turf-fen at Oxborough, Norfolk. Length (the point broken)  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. A similar specimen is preserved in the Norwich museum.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

A bronze javelin-head, of similar dimensions to the last, but of different formation; found in Norfolk.—*Mr. C. W. Unthank.*

A bronze javelin-head, of an unusual type, found in the bed of the river Lea, below Waltham Abbey, 1837. Length,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in. It has side loops, for attachment to the shaft. Compare one found on Hagbourn Hill, Berks, *Archæologia*, vol. xvi. p. 348.—*Mr. George Lovell, Inspector of Arms, Tower.*

A bronze sword-blade, of the early type as found in England and in the north of Europe. It was dug up at Wolpit, Suffolk.—*Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart.*

A bronze spear-blade, of the earlier form, the "gwaewfon," (Meyrick, Skelton's Goodrich Court Armory; plate 48, fig. 8.) Length, 13 in. A bronze celt, engraved with chevrony lines; a bow-shaped fibula, resembling those of Roman fashion. Found at Doncaster.—*The Rev. J. Hamilton Gray.*

Two bronze celts, of the simplest form, (compare Du Noyer, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. iv. p. 2, A,) engraved with zig-zag and short parallel lines. Found at Castle Rising.—*Mr. Charles Lock.*

Several bronze celts, of various forms, found in Norfolk, at Surlingham, Pulham St. Mary, Little Dunham and Marham. Several specimens of a hoard of seventy celts, found in a low meadow at Stibbard, near Fakenham, in 1837, some of them rough from the mould, and curious as shewing that numerous moulds were used (no two being precisely similar) even when the size and general form were almost identical.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

A singular object of bronze, the use of which has not been ascertained. It was found in Norfolk. (See woodcuts.) A relic of similar form may be seen amongst the antiquities in the Minster library at Lincoln.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

A bronze celt, of the wedge shape, with a socket for the haft, and a loop on one side: it presents a very unusual peculiarity of form, not hitherto noticed in objects of this description. Found in a tumulus on Frettenham Common, Norfolk. Also, a spear-head, of exceedingly good workmanship, formed with

\* This Memoir was communicated to the section of Antiquities, and read at the Norwich Meeting.

MUSEUM OF THE INSTITUTE, NORWICH.

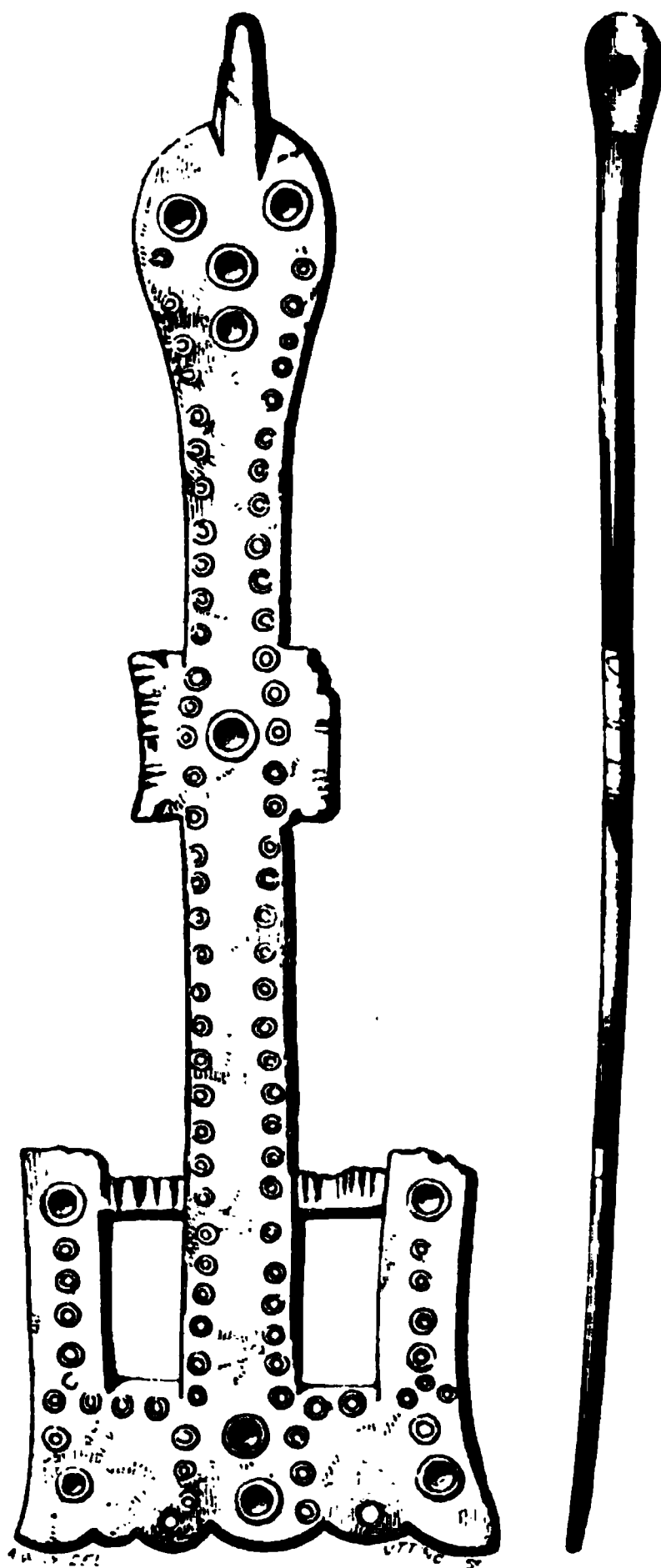
BRONZE CELT-MOULD, found on the Unthank road near Norwich.  
Length 5  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Catal. p. xxvi. Exhibited by C W Unthank, Esq



CELT-MOULD OF STONE found in Anglessea. Length 9 in. Catal. p. xxvi.



MUSEUM OF THE INSTITUTE, NORWICH.



Bronze object (of unknown use) found in Norfolk Exhibited by Mr. Goddard Johnson  
(Catal. p. xxvi.) Orig. size





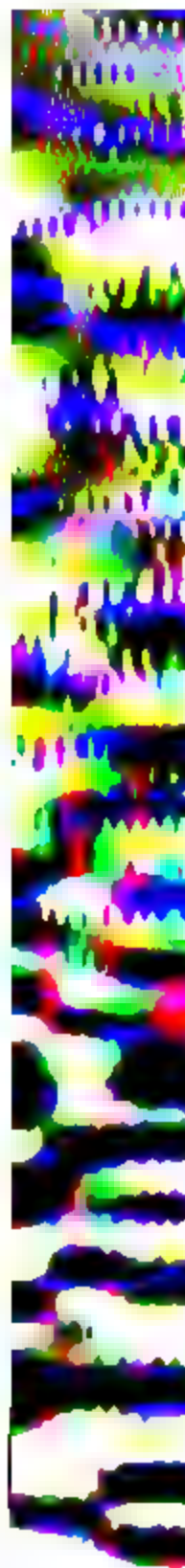


MUSEUM OF THE INSTITUTE, NORWICH.



Bronze head, supposed to represent Serapis, found at  
Falmingham Norfolk Orig. size. Catal. p. xxvi.

Enamelled fibula, from the collection of  
Mr. Goddard Johnson Orig. size



Roman spoon found at Colchester.  
From the collection of Mrs. Thorley.  
Catal. p. xxviii

loops at the sides, at the extremity of the blade. It was found with nine others, and seventy celts, in making a drain in a meadow at Stibbard, near Fakenham.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

A collection of very curious British ornaments formed of amber and a black substance, either jet or Kimmeridge shale, found in a tumulus in Dorsetshire, on the estates of the Earl of Orford. They appear to have formed a necklace, and consist of round amber beads of various sizes: circular ornaments in the form of a cone very much depressed, (diam. 1 in. and a tenth,) of amber and shale coated with thin gold plate, engraved with concentric, diagonal, and zigzag lines. Also barrel-shaped beads of shale, measuring about nine-tenths of an inch in length, greatest diameter  $\frac{1}{2}$  in., covered with gold wire. Compare the conical gold ornaments and roller-shaped beads found in a tumulus at Upton Lovel, Wilts, by Sir Richard Colt Hoare. *Ancient Wilts*, vol. i. pl. x.—*The Earl of Orford, through the Rev. James Bulwer.*

Kimmeridge coal-money, some rare types with angular lines traced upon the discs: found with bones and pottery in tumuli at Warbarrow and Smedmore, on the coast of Dorset, 1846. Also various British remains found in Cambridgeshire, a maul-head of porphyritic stone from Cottenham fen, an amber necklace found near the vertebræ of the neck of a skeleton, Manca fen, Isle of Ely, with celts, a spear, fibulæ, &c. A bronze sword-blade and sepulchral urn, found at Waterbeach: a human cranium, the temporal bone of which was found pierced by an arrow-head: it was discovered with celts, a bronze dagger, and other remains, at the depth of four feet, in Bottisham fen, Cambridgeshire. A singularly contorted cranium, found with torques, fibulæ, and pottery, at Trumpington, the teeth discoloured by the *obolus* which was placed in the mouth. A small bronze sphynx, found at Chesterford, and a bronze figure of a horse, stated to have been found with coins of Vespasian, in Jesus Lane, Cambridge. It is, however, probably of medieval date.—*Mr. Isaiah Deck.*

A flat ornament of bronze, upon which is a bearded head in relief, surmounted by a crescent, and with radiations on each side, as shewn in the annexed illustrations. It formed part of a collection of ancient objects of the Anglo-Roman period found in 1844 in an urn, at Felmingham, Norfolk. Two urns were discovered, one standing above the other, and resting upon two tiles: in the lower, which is remarkable as having ring-handles, one on either side, were deposited various objects of bronze, and a brass coin of Valerian. These curious remains are represented in Mr. Hart's "*Antiquities of Norfolk*." He supposed the radiated head to be *Fortuna barbata* (referring to Montf., tom. ii. c. 11. tom. i. pl. 17. Humph., vol. i. pl. 89, 90.)

A small *olla* of dark-coloured ware, with wavy lines of white, and impressed lines; found at Carlton, Norfolk, April, 1807. It contained a number of Roman gold and silver coins, now in the possession of Sir T. Beauchamp Proctor, Bart.—*Lieut. Beauchamp, R.N.*

A bronze lamp, of Roman workmanship, found, in 1819, amongst the remains of a Roman villa at Blechingley.—*The Rev. W. T. Spurdens.*

A bronze statuette of Mercury, found at Piersbridge in the county of Durham, the supposed *AD TISAM* of Richard of Cirencester. A representation of this interesting *lar*, which is of fine workmanship, the feet unfortunately lost, is given in the *Archæologia*, vol. ix. pl. xix. p. 289.—*Mr. John Bowyer Nichols, F.S.A.*

A small bronze figure of Cupid dancing, found in ploughed land at Haynford, five miles north-west of Norwich. *Journ. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. ii. p. 346.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

A bronze figure of Venus, arranging her hair; found at Colchester in 1837; also a bronze statuette of Mercury, "found on the north side of the Lexden road, 1843, in a field west of Mr. Bragg's house."—*Mr. W. Whincopp.*

A bronze *patella*, or *trulla*(?) of good workmanship, and much ornamented. It was found in 1838 in the hamlet of Prickwillow, in Burnt Fen, Isle of Ely, at a depth of nearly seven feet. The handle is curiously inlaid with vine branches, in a kind of metallic composition, it bears the maker's name *BODVOGENVS. F.* A detailed account is given, with representations of this curious vessel, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. p. 436. Compare one in vol. viii. p. 105, and another marked *NARCISSI*, Montf., tom. iii. pl. 64.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

A Roman *cochlear*, or spoon, of the fashion to which Martial makes allusion (xiv. 121, "Sum cochleis habilis, nec sum minus utilis ovis,") being formed with a pointed handle, suited for drawing snails (*cochleæ*) out of their shells. It was found about 8 ft. beneath the surface, near the western wall of Colchester, with earthen vessels, fragments of pottery, and fibulæ, &c. In the *pecten*, or cavity of the spoon is inscribed, in inlaid metal, now black and resembling *niello*, *ÆTERNVS VIVAS*. The prevalent use of snails in this country as an article of food, in Roman times, appears to be proved by the frequent occurrence of the large edible species, the *Helix pomatia*, near Roman villas or settlements. It has been supposed that they were introduced from Gaul or Italy. A silver spoon of like form, found at Richborough, is figured in Battely's *Antiqu. Rutup.*, tab. xi. p. 124; and another, found near the "Castle mound," Caerleon, with Roman remains, is given in Mr. Lee's work on the antiquities of that place, pl. xvi. See similar spoons in Montf., tom. i. pl. 72. p. 130; tom. ii. pl. 55. p. 140; tom. ii. Supp. pl. 15.—*Mr. Charles Tucker. From the Collection of Mrs. Thorley, Colchester.*

Four spoons of mixed metal, found with Roman remains, one of them plated with silver, and two *styli*: discovered in building the Union House at Colchester, 1836-7. A small bell of bronze, a bow-shaped fibula, enamelled ornaments, handles of knives formed of bone and of metal chased, with armillæ, fibulæ, and numerous other ancient relics from Colchester, found at the same period. One of the armlets is wound around by a spiral wire, in very unusual fashion. A pair of bronze hinges and a cruciform fibula, found at Northwold, Norfolk. A collection of relics found in the Thames, near Blackfriars Bridge, Sept. 1845, including a singular bow-shaped fibula, ring fibulæ, and other ancient objects. Two bone dice, and a curious series of discs of bone, metal, and vitrified paste, supposed to be *tesserae*, varying in diameter from half an inch to 1½ in., chiefly discovered at Colchester.—*Mr. W. Whincopp.*

A small disc or *tessera* of baked clay, about one sixth of an inch in thickness; diameter, 3 in. It was found at Attleborough, Norfolk. One side is marked with diagonal lines, forming a cross, and the letters *s.c.v.R.* On the other are the letters *H. IMP. ... (XP ?)*

Cinerary urns, discovered near the encampment at Shadwell, near Thetford, supposed to be of the Roman period.—*Sir Robert Buxton, Bart.*

Romano-British pottery, from a tumulus at Belton, within a mile of Burgh Castle, (Garianonum.)

Fragments of "Samian" ware, discovered at Brampton, near Burgh, Aylsham, Norfolk.—*Mr. John Wright, jun.*

Fragments of "Samian" pottery, found at Caistor, near Norwich, bearing the marks *DVΦIVS F.* and *SVOBNEO OF (?)*.—*Mr. Seth W. Stephenson, F.S.A.*

Fragments of the like ware, found in Norfolk, with the following potter's stamps, —*IVRONIS OF.* and *SILVANI*.—*Rev. John Gunn, of Irstead.*

Three urns of dark brown ware, found at Markshall, near Caistor, presented by Mrs. Postle to the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society; and exhibited by the Society. Compare the urns from Markshall, represented in *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 436.

A cinerary urn, containing calcined bones, dug out of the Roman burial ground at Markshall, near Norwich, in the immediate vicinity of the great Roman works at Caistor. Twenty urns, of which this was one, all containing burned bones, were found in 1815. In this specimen were discovered a pair of small bronze tweezers, or *volsellæ*, as has also been noticed in other instances, in similar depositions. They are now in the Norwich museum.—*Mr. Seth W. Stevenson, F.S.A.*

An urn, found in 1818, in the supposed Roman cemetery at Markshall; also some grains of wheat discovered at the same time, and fragments of fibulæ found in sepulchral urns near that place.—*Mr. William Warren, Bracendale.*

A cinerary urn, found in a tomb at Caistor, near Norwich, supposed to be of the Romano-British age.—*Mrs. Dashwood.*

A Romano-British urn, ornamented in a singular manner; found at Saham, Norfolk.—*The Rev. W. Grigson, Rector of Whinburgh.*

A fine gold ring, found at Caistor, set with an intaglio on onyx; the subject is the Genius of Victory.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

A gold torc, found in ploughing, October, 1846, on Bittering Common, in the parish of Foulsham, Norfolk. It is of the "funicular" form, with solid cylindrical ends, recurved, apparently so as to be hooked together, or secured by small rings. See Mr. Birch's notices of ornaments of this type, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. ii. p. 379. He inclines to assign their date to the fourth or fifth century. The weight is 5½ oz., extreme length, 42 in., the recurved ends measure 2¼ in. and 2½ in. It is exceedingly flexible and of sufficient size to be worn as a girdle, or over the shoulder. An account of this curious ornament, the first specimen of this type, found in Norfolk, is given by the Rev. James Bulwer in the *Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society*, vol. i. p. 231, with representations of the hooks and form of the twist.—*The Right Hon. Lord Hastings.*

An ornament of gold, similar in form to one of the types of "ring-money," with terminal cups, found in Ireland. It was found in 1815, at Swinton Park, North Riding of Yorkshire. Weight, 5 oz. 3 dr. 10 gr.—*Mr. Charles Tucker.*

Three armillæ, two of them of massive gold, the third of copper plated with the same precious metal, found with earthen vessels, bones, &c., on the Sussex Downs, near Patcham, Jan. 1847. The metal is alloyed with silver to a considerable amount. Weight, 5 oz. 5 dwt. 12 gr.—4 oz.—and 2 oz. 5 dwt. 6 gr. Armillæ somewhat similar, but less massive, were found with celts near Eastbourne, under Beachey Head, Sussex, in 1807; a specimen is engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xvi. p. 363. Armillæ of precisely analogous type are frequently discovered in Ireland. Communicated by the kind permission of Col. Paine, of Patcham Place, Sussex.—*Mr. W. H. Blaauw.*

#### ANGLO-SAXON AND EARLY IRISH ANTIQUITIES.

A quadrangular leaden vessel, found in excavations for the railway at Willingdon, Sussex. Length, 12 in., breadth, 11 in., depth, 6 in. It is formed of cast lead, and ornamented on the exterior at the ends with corded work, arranged fret-wise, in like manner as on the cists containing the remains of the Earl Warren and Gundreda, found at Lewes priory. On the sides are ornaments of interlaced work, enclosed within a triangle, apparently of Anglo-Saxon design, the two sides being precisely similar, and seemingly from the same mould. At first sight it

has the appearance of the lower portion of a coffer or cist, and it had lifting handles of iron fixed to the ends by leaden sockets ; the iron is now decayed with rust ; the edge is lapped over to give it additional strength. The general appearance of this singular object would lead to the conjecture that it might have been a *situla*, or holy water vessel, of the tenth or eleventh century. A representation of it is given in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. i. p. 160.—

*Mr. Mark Antony Lower, Lewes.*

Two cruciform fibulæ of bronze, of the type considered to belong to the Anglo-Saxon period ; found in a tumulus on Cotes Common, at Sporle, near Swaffham. Compare Akerman, *Archæol. Index*, pl. xvii. figs. 3, 4.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

Several very interesting fibulæ and ornaments of the same period, found in Suffolk, especially a cruciform fibula of unusually large dimensions.—*Mr. Whincopp, Woodbridge.*

A silver ring, ornamented with a zigzag tooling, and the word—✠ DANCAS ✠—signifying a token of thanks, or acknowledgment of services received, or possibly an *ex voto*, in accordance with the common usage of suspending such ornaments near the shrines of saints, as appears in the inventories of St. Cuthbert's shrine, &c.—*Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart.*

The Cloghorha, or golden hand-bell of St. Senanus. This remarkable relic, now in the possession of the Keane family, co. Clare, is traditionally believed to have belonged to St. Senan, founder of the famous monastery of Inniscattery, on the river Shannon, in the sixth century. At the dissolution of monasteries the bell was preserved by the Keane family, and was used as a means of obtaining restitution of stolen property ; the bell being transported for that purpose even to remote places, the 'accused were' subjected to the ordeal of laying their hands on it whilst making solemn declarations of innocence. In consequence of the veneration in which the relic was held, the threat of sending for the bell generally produced restitution ; its virtue has repeatedly been thus proved within the memory of the present owner, and even on very recent occasions. The bell is four-sided, and enclosed in a case of silver, partly gilt, curiously chased and graven, and enriched with work in niello, not more ancient, apparently, than the thirteenth century. See Mr. Westwood's curious notices of the sacred Irish hand-bells, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vols. iii., iv.—*Mr. C. Desborough Bedford.*

#### MEDIEVAL ANTIQUITIES.—ARMS AND ARMOUR.

A mass of indurated chain-mail, apparently a hauberk of the fourteenth century, stated to have been found imbedded in the chalk strata of the river Seine, in the course of excavation for the Paris and Rouen railway. A few of the rings only remain detached from one another, distinctly shewing the size and formation of the *mailles* in this most curious conglomerate. A pair of rowelled spurs, of the fashion of the reign of Edward III., appear imbedded in the mass, with a tooth, possibly of the horse which had carried the wearer of this armour ; an iron bridle-bit in perfect preservation, some keys, and a few other relics were discovered at the same spot.—*The Right Hon. Lord Hastings.*

A hauberk of chain-mail, every ring riveted, the sleeves of finer mail than the body ; probably of Oriental fabrication. —*The Right Hon. Lord Stafford.*

A fine German suit of ribbed and fluted armour cap-à-pie, of the earlier part of the sixteenth century. The breast-plate globular, with a demi-placcate, and a

MUSEUM OF THE INSTITUTE, NORWICH.

IRON BRIDLE-BIT POUND WITH A HEADSTOCK IN THE GRINE  
Dated 14th century. Exhibited by the Lord Hastings

THE CHEVALIER SATYRE'S SWORD Exhibited by Sir John Bodley Bart



lance rest. The pass-guards are very large, the sollerets square-toed. From the collection at Costessey.—*The Lord Stafford.*

A crested casque, several backs and breast-plates with other portions of armour of the times of Charles I., much decayed, found in the moat of Ashwell-thorpe hall, near Norwich. These were relics, probably, of some conflict in the civil wars, when the loyal Thomas Knyvet was possessed of Ashwell-thorpe. He thus wrote his own epitaph,—

Here lies loyal Knyvet who hated Anarchy,  
Liv'd a true Protestant, and died with Monarchy<sup>b</sup>.—

*Exhibited by the Hon. and Rev. Robert Wilson, Rector of Ashwell-thorpe.*

Two miniature models of suits of armour, for man and horse, of the close of the sixteenth century. They formerly belonged to Cosway.—*Mr. C. W. Ewing.*

The buff-coat, embroidered vest and sword-belt, which were worn by Sir Jacob Astley, Knt., sergeant-major of the forces in the reign of Charles I. He was born at Melton Constable in 1579, was created Baron Astley of Reading, in 1644, and died at Maidstone in 1651. This suit forms the most complete and striking specimen, probably, now in existence, of the costume of the period, when armour of plate was gradually superseded by leather. The coat is richly overlaid with gold and silver lace in stripes, and it was laced over the breast. From the collection at Melton Constable.—*The Lord Hastings.*

An ancient halbard, an interesting relic of the deadly conflict which took place on the shores of the lake of Morat, in Switzerland, A.D. 1476, between the troops of the Swiss cantons and the forces of Charles le Mauvais, duke of Burgundy. This halbard was found in the lake, and it supplies an early example of the early form of the weapon, first introduced into France by the Swiss, in the reign of Louis XI., and not used in England before the times of Henry VIII. A curious knife of Milanese work, the blade etched and inlaid with gold, probably part of the *étui*, or official equipment of a state carver (*écuyer trenchant*.) A similar knife is preserved in the museum at the Louvre. A stiletto with a three-edged blade (*trialellum*?) of beautiful Italian workmanship inlaid with silver, the haft of ivory, a skull forming the pomel.—*Sir John Boileau, Bart.*

A sword, formerly in the possession of the Duke de Crillon, who espoused the last representative of the race of Bayard: it had been preserved as a weapon formerly used by the gallant chevalier *sans reproche*. On the blade, which is of moderate length (2 ft. 10 in.) are engraved near the guard two devices: a falcon or other bird standing on a branch,—*Soli deo Gloria*; and an arm issuing from clouds, and wielding a falchion, with *Vincere aut mori*<sup>c</sup>. These *impresi* are repeated on either side of the blade, but the mottos are transposed. It has not been recorded that these were adopted by Bayard: the armour preserved at Paris, in the Musée de l'Artillerie, and attributed to him, bears the *devise*—"semper suave." A representation of this interesting sword is given in the illustrations of this catalogue. Purchased at Avignon, in 1839.—*Sir John Boileau, Bart.*

One of the six ancient "white bows" of yew, so termed in distinction from painted bows, recovered, in 1841, from the wreck of the Mary Rose, sunk off Spithead in the reign of Henry VIII., 1545. The state of their preservation is very remarkable. Two of these bows were deposited in the Tower Armory, and may be seen in "Queen Elizabeth's Armory."—*Mr. R. G. P. Minty, Norwich.*

<sup>b</sup> Blomefield, vol. v. p. 157.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Edward Cockburn Kindersley, in his attractive volume, the translation of the History of Bayard by "le loyal serviteur," (Longman,

1848,) introduces this motto as appropriate to him. A suit of armour attributed to Bayard, and formerly in the Château at St. Germain, is now preserved in the arsenal at Woolwich.



A long matchlock musket, a relic of the Invincible Armada ; stated to have been recovered from the wreck of one of the invading ships, which was cast upon the coast of Suffolk. It was formerly in the possession of Roderick Mackenzie, of Edinburgh, by whom the following inscription was engraved on the barrel, —✠ IBIS IN HÆRETICOS, 1587. It is constructed so as to be used either with a hammer and flint, or with a serpentine and match.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

Another fire-arm, taken from the wreck of one of the vessels of the Spanish Armada. Also four ancient stirrup-irons, of various dates.—*Mr. Brailsford.*

An ancient horse-shoe of iron, found near Swaffham ; and a brass stirrup, of later date, probably of the sixteenth century.—*The Rev. James Bulwer.*

An iron gun-barrel, found near East Dereham, supposed to have been fabricated at Perth, curiously inlaid with silver ; the crowned thistle, imperial crown, initial I., (James I ?) interlaced triangles, and other ornaments.—*Mr. Cartwright.*

A German dagger, date about 1600 ; and a German couteau de chasse, formed with a pistol in the hilt.—*Mr. C. J. Freeman.*

A patron, or case for cartridges, of the latter part of the sixteenth century ; of iron with ornaments etched upon the metal. Compare Skelton, Goodrich Court Armory, vol. ii. pl. 126.—*Mr. Edward Hawkins.*

A rowelled spur, of the times of Richard II., found at Morley, in Norfolk.—*Sir John Boileau, Bart.*

A rowelled spur, of the time of Henry VI., with ornaments inlaid in gold, and pounced work. The shanks of a brass spur, of the time of Henry VI., curiously engraved and pounced.—*Mr. R. G. P. Minty.*

A rowelled spur, of the seventeenth century.—*The Rev. James Bulwer.*

An iron spur, of the remarkable long-necked fashion of the time of Henry VII., found at Castle Rising. Also two single-pointed spurs, of very singular construction, supposed to be of the sixteenth century. A pair of brass dress-spurs, of the time of Charles I. A very fine rapier, of the sixteenth century. An Italian shield of parade, of leather, the painting on which has been attributed to Polidoro da Caravaggio, the assistant of Raphael in the works of the Vatican. He died in 1543. From the armory at Melton Constable.—*The Lord Hastings.*

A singular German helm, of the latter part of the fifteenth century, formed of leather strengthened by iron bars, painted black, with gilded ornaments ; the fore-part is grated and curiously compacted by knotted cords. On the front is inscribed, over the throat—ICH WART, and behind—DER ZEIT, (I bide the time.) From the armory at Melton Constable<sup>a</sup>.—*The Right Hon. Lord Hastings.*

Brass-footed stirrups, of the sixteenth century, formed with ornamental open-work protecting the toe ; a custom first introduced in tournaments when sollerets of plate-armour were disused, for the sake of convenience.—*Mr. James Mills.*

A shield of parade, of inlaid Milanese work.—*The Lord Stafford.*

A rapier, the blade inscribed IHN SOLINGEN., and two Spanish stiletos.—*Mr. C. J. Freeman.*

A small dress rapier, the blade of Toledo fabrication, with a hilt of Milanese work. A German couteau de chasse ; the blade bearing the name of ANDRIA FERARA. Date, early sixteenth century. Also a similar weapon with the hilt of agate, mounted with silver, probably of English workmanship.—*Mr. W. C. Ewing.*

A basket-hilted sword, the hilt elegantly pierced, the blade single edged, marked MEIGEN. and CLEMES.—*Mr. J. Waller, Pulham.*

<sup>a</sup> A representation of this head-piece, which was imported from the continent by Mr. S. Pratt, is given in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. ii. p. 59.

A long ashen pike of the seventeenth century, measuring 15 ft. 3 inches in length. The staff is branded with the initials W B. In 1645 the length of this weapon was 15 feet, besides the head, and in 1670 as much as 18 feet including it. See various forms of the pike-head in Skelton's *Illustrations of the Goodrich Court Armory*, vol. ii. pl. 86.—*Mr. Edward Steward, Sprowston Hall.*

A partizan of the time of Charles II. bearing the initials—C 2. R. with the arms of England : it has the original silken tassel.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner, Halesworth.*

A linstock, or cannoniers' pike, of the time of Charles I., with branches for carrying the match ; also a good series of partizans and halbards of various periods. One of the partizans, of brass silvered, has the blade in form of a double-headed eagle, the breast on one side charged with a roundel inscribed H. W., on the other with an escutcheon, ermines, in chief three crowns.—*The Lord Hastings.*

The dirk worn by the Lord Balmerino, beheaded for the part he took in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715.—*Mr. Hawkins.*

One of the swords used in the French Revolution at the close of the last century, known by the popular name of the "*droits d'homme*;" it forms a kind of walking stick, and has no cross-guard.—*Sir John Boileau, Bart.*

#### SPECIMENS OF GOLDSMITHS' WORK, PERSONAL ORNAMENTS, AND APPLIANCES OF DOMESTIC USE.

The rich CORPORATION PLATE of the city of Norwich, comprising a noble standing salt, of silver gilt, the gift of Peter Reade, Esq., a distinguished person in the wars of Charles V. ; his portrait is preserved in the council chamber, with a memorial of benefactions, in which it is recorded that he did "give a faire salt, double gilt, of the value of twentie poundes, to be used in the *Maiores* Houses in Norwich, in Time of ther *Maiores*ltie." He died in 1568. This piece of plate is ornamented with three armorial scutcheons, displaying the bearings of Reade, the honourable augmentation given to him by the Emperor at the siege of Tunis, and the arms of Blenerhasset. It is inscribed thus,—*ASPERANCE IN DEO—THE GYFTE OF PETAR READE ESQUIAR.* In the cover are engraved these arms—a buck's head ducally gorged, erased and muzzled, ermine. *Asperance in deo.* The cover is surmounted by a martial figure, holding a shield, with the arms of Norwich<sup>e</sup>. A pair of fine covered stoups, of silver gilt with ornaments richly embossed, and bearing the city arms. Three shallow drinking cups, of silver gilt, the gift apparently of John Blenerhasset, Esq., steward of the city, 1563, and one of the burgesses in parliament 13 Eliz. Two of them bear the inscription—✠ *AL. MI. TRUST. IS. IN. GOD.* Within the cup is a scutcheon of arms of Blenerhasset quartering Lowdham, Keldon, Orton and Skelton, and the name—John Blener Hasset. On one of the cups is inscribed—✠ *The most herof is dun by Peter Peterson,—with the city arms.* He was an eminent goldsmith at Norwich, in the reign of Elizabeth, and doubtless made these goblets'. A magnificent laver and ewer, of silver gilt, presented to the city by the Hon. Henry Howard in 1663, when, in the company of the duke of Norfolk, he dined with the mayor on the guild-day. Its

\* The assay marks are D, a cross-mound on a lozenge, and a lion with a castle. Sir Peter Reade was buried in St. Peter Mancroft church, Norwich ; his sepulchral brass has been given by Cotman.

' Assay marks, on one—the lion, leopard's face, a covered cup, and letter J. On the cup last described are the castle and lion passant, being the Norwich mark, and a cross-mound.

value was then estimated at £60. The principal subject represented on the laver is the triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite, embossed in very high relief. Inscribed thus, "The gift of the right Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Henry Howard at the Guild June y<sup>e</sup> 16, 1663. In the time of John Croshold, mayor<sup>s</sup>." *Exhibited by permission of the Worshipful the Mayor and Corporation of the city.*

A beautiful grace-cup, of silver gilt, of Italian design, date about 1600, very similar in form and proportion to the celebrated cup preserved in the British Museum, attributed to Cellini. It was formerly the property of the "Friars' Society," of Norwich.—*Hudson Gurney, Esq.*

A tankard, of silver gilt, which belonged to the first Lord Coventry, in 1620. Arms, a fess ermines between three crescents, Coventry.—*Sir Thomas Beavor, Bart.*

A silver salt, curiously chased and pounced, formed in three portions like the stages of a tower, so as to contain a receptacle for some other condiment above the salt; a similar piece of plate was exhibited in the museum formed during the York meeting. Also a silver peg-tankard, apparently made in Northern Europe, about 1600.—*The Rev. Neville Rolfe.*

The ancient silver mace of the bailiffs of Dunwich, Suffolk, in the form of a bird-bolt, or arrow: and the silver badge of the water-bailiffs of the same town. Date, sixteenth century.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

A pyx, or small reliquary, of Spanish workmanship, formed of silver, most elegantly wrought and set with garnets and mother of pearl. Sixteenth century. It bears a monogram, which has led to the supposition that it was formerly in the possession of Mary, Queen of Scots.—*Mr. Rohde Hawkins.*

A small folding spoon, of wood, very delicately carved, the handle representing the crucifixion, and folding back into the bowl of the spoon. Date 1503. Possibly for use in sprinkling incense on the thurible. Also, a small silver cross, containing cells for relics, on the face is engraved the crucifixion, on the back the symbols of the passion. Found in St. Sepulchre's churchyard, Norwich.—*Rev. Samuel Titlow.*

A small flat box, of bronze, probably intended as a receptacle for an *Agnus Dei*, being a wax tablet in the form of a lamb, or impressed with the figure of a lamb, and blessed by the pope. A similar box is represented in Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. ii. pl. vii.; it was found at Netherby.—*Mr. A. Kent.*

A singular pendant ornament of jet, set in silver, probably worn as a charm: it is of lozenge-form; on one side is engraved the crucifixion and symbols of the passion, on the other the Virgin and Child. Diameter, 1½ in.—*Sir Thomas Beavor, Bart.*

A bronze thurible, found at Lyng, near Elmham. Date about 1500.—*Mr. Robert Fitch.*

An interesting watch, stated to have been presented by Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Marchioness of Hamilton, and preserved in the possession of the Hamilton family until the latter part of the seventeenth century, when it passed to the branch of that family from whom it descended to Mr. Hamilton Gray. The name of the maker is "*Etienne Hubert, Rouen.*" He made likewise a watch which was presented by Mary, according to tradition, to John Knox.—*The Rev. John Hamilton Gray, Bolsover Castle.*

A jewelled crucifix, bearing date 1679. Several beautiful specimens of silver fillagree; one of them ornamented with an enamelled *plaque*, representing the adoration of the Magi: a silver scent-bottle, an agate cup, mounted with a silver

\* Assay marks—lion passant, leopard's face, year-letter V, and maker's initials I N.



MUSEUM OF THE INSTITUTE, NORWICH.



RING FIBULA, OF SILVER GILT,  
from the collection of Mr Whitcopp Orig. size  
MOUN CURE AUEZ SANS DEPARTIER.

EWER OF LATTEN METAL, inscribed VENEZ LAVER Date. XIV cent.  
In the possession of the Rev C. R. Manning

cover, and a small salver, on which appears the rape of Europa. These last are works by Dassier. Also, an elegant watch, a repeater, fabricated in England, about 1730. "Hen. Hurt. London."—*The Lady Catharine Boileau.*

A watch with a chased silver case. I. TARTUS. LONDON.—*Mr. W. B. Bensley.*

Two specimens of ancient plate and a beautiful salver of silver fillagree, supposed to be of German workmanship.—*Mr. Robert Fitch.*

An ancient silver case, found in the ruins of Walsingham Priory. Also, a scissor-case of steel inlaid with silver. Date, about 1580. A watch, of the manufacture of Rouen, about the close of the seventeenth century.—*The Rev. W. T. Spurdens.*

A beautiful ring fibula of silver, parcel-gilt, the ring fashioned like a wreath, and inscribed \* moun ✠ curt ✠ aurz ✠ saunz ✠ departir. Date, early fifteenth century. Another silver fibula, in form of a star.—*Mr. W. Whincopp.*

A circular fibula, inscribed: found in St. Michael's church-yard, Coventry.—*The Rev. William Staunton.*

Two fibulæ, one of silver, a simple ring, with the transverse *acus*, found at Hautbois, Norfolk; the other heart-shaped, of mixed yellow metal.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

A bronze fibula, found in the mound near Mettingham castle, Suffolk. Date, fifteenth century.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

A leaden phial or bottle with two handles, dug up in Reeve's fen, Upwell, with several other vessels of lead. They lay at a depth of four feet on a bed of clay, and beneath four distinct strata of peat.—*Mr. James Gay, of Thirning.*

Two leaden vessels, or covered canisters, round, and tapering upwards, found, in 1816, amongst the ruins of Langley Abbey, Norfolk, the property of Sir W. Beauchamp Proctor, Bart. They are without handles, the covers fit loosely; the intention and date are alike unknown. Dimensions, height 19 inches; diam. at mouth, 5 inches, at base, 10½ in.—*Lieut. Beauchamp, Langley Park.*

A tripod ewer of latten, with this motto in letters in relief, ✠ VENEZ LAVER. Date, about 1400.—*Mr. C. R. Manning, Diss.*

A vessel of metal, resembling the *situla*, or holy-water vat, ornamented with medallion portraits of Queen Mary. Inscribed TOINE \* CAVET. the founder's name (?)—*Lord Hastings.*

A standard gallon measure, of bronze, of the reign of Henry VII., and supposed to have belonged to the office of the comptroller of the royal household: it is inscribed *Henricus septim'* and bears the badges of the rose en soleil, the portcullis and greyhound. Dimensions, height, 12¾ in.; diam. at the mouth, 6½ in., foot, 5½ in. It has one handle. It is now in the possession of Mr. Charles Warner.—*Mr. Brailsford.*

One of a set of measures of bronze, formerly belonging to the town of Aldburgh. It is cup-shaped; on the rim are engraved the numerals CXXVIII. and monogram T R. On the side ALDEBVEGH BVEGVM. the date 1588, and an escutcheon of arms, a fish hauriant between three cross crosslets fitchy, the bearing probably of some municipal officer, as it presents no resemblance to the arms granted to the town in 1561.

A bell-shaped weight, formed with a hand on the top, grasping a ring, to serve as a handle. Around it is inscribed, ELIZABETH . REGINA . AN . 1588 . AVOYE . DE . POIZ : XIII POVNDE. It is ornamented with the arms of France and England, quarterly, and bears various stamps—E L under a ducal coronet; H crowned, and the imperial crown.

A small Flemish hand-bell of bronze, ornamented with a representation of

Orpheus charming the brutes.—O MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI.—PETRVS GHBINEVS ME FECIT. 1568, with a scutcheon of the arms of Arragon (?)—*Mr. Brailsford.*

A round disc of wood, supposed to have formed the upper part of a cheese press, or to have served for moulding an ornamental device on a large cake. The sacred monogram ih̄c, crowned, is deeply engraved upon it, and surrounded by the inscription—An harte that is wyse will abstene from synnes and increas in the workes of God. This singular relic appears to be of the times of Elizabeth: a representation of it has been given in Hone's Every Day Book, vol. ii. p. 498. It measures two feet in diameter.—*Mr. W. C. Ewing.*

A flask formed of leather, dated 1610, and an ancient jug.—*The Rev. James Bulwer.*

A piece of black marble, measuring 4 inches square, a round cavity being formed on the upper face. It is supposed to have been used as a salt-cellar. On the sides are inscribed—For Sake thy Sinnes—Whose eare thou artt—For God Himselfe hath—Freed the from the Smart. Remember how Lotts Wife God did Exalt—But Shee look't back and turned was to Salt. 1669.—*Mr. Gwyn.*

A salt-cellar of white marble, apparently of Italian workmanship, sixteenth century.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

A silver spoon, supposed to be of the thirteenth century: on the bowl is engraved a female head, and on the handle the name,—✠ IOH' : DE : WINTONIA. Also, two spoons of base metal. Date, fourteenth century.—*Mr. John Gough Nichols.*

A silver spoon, of English workmanship, found in the old hall, Barsham, near Beccles, Suffolk. Also, a spoon of mixed yellow metal, or latten, supposed to be of Dutch manufacture, found in the moat of Mettingham castle, Suffolk.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

An English spoon, and two of Dutch workmanship: one being an Apostle spoon, with a figure of St. Simon.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

Two keys, one of bronze, date about 1400, the other of iron, of the same century.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

A bronze frame for a gipcière, date about 1500.—*The Lord Hastings.*

Bronze frames, to which were attached pouches or gipcières, commonly worn in the fifteenth century appended to the girdle. Several examples are described, with notices of their use, by Mr. Douce, *Archæologia*, vol. xvii. p. 115.—*Mr. Brailsford.*

A small casket of iron, elaborately ornamented with pierced tracery of Gothic design, probably of French workmanship. Date, the close of the fifteenth century.—*Mr. John Gough Nichols.*

Carved coffer of oak, supposed to have been presented by Isabella, queen of Spain, in 1501, to her daughter Juana, who espoused Philip, archduke of Austria. On the lid appears the double-headed eagle displayed, crowned, and the date 1501; a garland with the initials I. P. and C. A. Within the lid is a castle crowned, between large ornamental initials—Y. R. (*Ysabella Réyna*).—*Mr. Whincopp.*

A very singular specimen of English locksmith's work, a brass lock, on the face of which is a figure in the costume of the reign of Charles I., holding a fleur-de-lys as an index which points to numerals on two revolving circles. These form a sort of dial plate, for some calculation, not ascertained; near the toe is a little stud, which being pressed, the left leg, hinged at the knee, falls back, and discovers the key-hole. The following inscription appears to indicate some detective contrivance in this curious piece of mechanism.

" If j had ye gift of tongue :  
j would declare and do no wrong :  
who they are yt come by stealth :  
to jmpare my Lady's wealth :

John Wilkes de Birmingham Fecit."

*Mr. George Carthew, East Dereham.*

A casket of mother of pearl, very beautifully sculptured in relief.—*Mr. Priest.*

Painted fruit-trenchers, of wood, bearing moral admonitions from Scripture, verses and curious ornaments. Six specimens, part of four distinct sets, the largest measuring 6 inches in diameter. The following may be selected as an example : it appears to be addressed against the ills of jealousy. In the centre—As him selfe hee loueth his wife . neuer to change during his life.—and around the margin—Whie mistrust yee or yee haue need . y<sup>i</sup> sire is good of word or deede. These trenchers seem to have been in fashion during the latter part of the sixteenth century ; on one of later age is a coloured engraving representing mummers entering a house where a party is assembled, and the inscription—✠ With masking play and dauncing February doth begin.—so use thy sport and pleasure without intent of synne. See notices of such trenchers, *Archæol. Journal*, vol. iii. p. 334 ; *Journal of the Archæol. Association*, vol. i. p. 329.—*Mr. G. Johnson.*

Six roundels of wood, of the same description, with a rhyming verse inscribed on each : they are rather satirical than complimentary to the fair sex. This will suffice as a specimen,

" If thou be yong, then marie not yet,  
If thou be old, thou hast more witt,  
For yong mens wiues will not bee taught  
And old mens wiues bee good for naught."

*Mr. Muskett, Norwich.*

A knife and fork, of the reign of Charles II., enclosed in a case of ornamented leather of the same age ; the handles bear the royal arms, with the date 1660.—*Mr. T. Addison.*

A worsted-winder, of wood, inscribed on the sides with the verses—" Leade me forthe in thy trueth and learne me for thou art the God of my salvacion. In the hath been my hope al the day longe," and other pious phrases. On the edges, the posy, "LOVE INNVIETH NOT. R. HEMSBY," probably the donor's name.—*Miss Colby.*

A pair of bellows, carved in high relief, probably of Flemish workmanship. Date, seventeenth century.—*The Right Hon. Lord Stafford.*

An ivory stiletto, used by ladies in embroidery, inscribed

" A good wife makes her husband sing,  
But some do like a serpent sting." 1686.

*Mr. Blakely.*

A knife and fork, apparently of Dutch workmanship, the hafts contrived so as to contain a number of small knives and forks, as a specimen of the skill of the cutler. They bear the date and initials, 1687, C. K.—*Captain Cockburn.*

Ancient querns, or hand-mills, formed of conglomerate ; found at Old Buckenham, Norfolk.—*Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart.*

A vessel of green-coloured stone, apparently a kind of serpentine, probably intended to be used as a mortar ; dimensions, height and diam. at the upper side, 7 inches. From Thetford ; formerly in the possession of Mr. Burrell, a local collector at that place.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

Decorative pavement tile, with the armorial bearing of the Astleys. From Astley church, Warwickshire. Fourteenth century.—*The Lord Hastings.*

Four pavement tiles from St. Julian's church, Norwich, one bears the Pentacle



or figure termed Solomon's seal. A scutcheon of arms—barry, a bend over all, which appears to have been the bearing of Sir Herman de Stanhow, one of those appointed by Edward I. as keepers of the city of Norwich, when seized by the king after the riots in which the monastery was plundered and burnt by the citizens, A.D. 1272. On another, the Holy Lamb. Engraved in *Norfolk Archæology*, published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, vol. i. p. 369.

Decorative tiles from East Dereham, Norfolk, one inscribed with the name. THOMAS. Fourteenth century.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner*.

Decorative tile from Blackborough priory, near Lynn; manufactured, probably, at the ancient works at Bawsey Heath, the productions of which have recently been imitated very successfully by Mr. Taylor and Mr. John Laird, of Lynn.—*The Rev. James Bulwer*.

Flemish decorative pavement tiles, an imitation, probably, of the Spanish *azulejos*, tiles which appear to have received that name from the prevalence of a rich blue colour in their decoration. Date, about 1600. They formerly ornamented the old hall house, called Hawtens, at Barnham Broom.

#### PAINTINGS, AND WORKS OF ART, SCULPTURES, SEPULCHRAL BRASSES, &c.

An ancient painting, on panel, stated to have been formerly preserved in Loddon church, Norfolk. It represents a gentleman in armour, and a lady kneeling: in the back-ground appear, on one side, a church, on the other a bridge. It bears the following inscription—"Orate pro anima Jacobi Hobart, Militis, ac Attornati Regis, qui hanc Ecclesiam a primo fundamento condidit, in tribus Annis, cum suis propriis Bonis, Anno Regni Regis Henrici Septimi undecimo." His tabard exhibits the bearings of Hobart, and on the lady's mantle are the same impaling Naunton, (sa. three martlets arg.) Above are the royal arms, surmounted by an imperial crown. Sir James Hobart, attorney general to Hen. VII., had a residence at Hales Hall, in Loddon, and rebuilt the church at that place; he likewise built St. Olave's bridge, over the Waveney, between Norfolk and Suffolk; it is represented in the painting<sup>b</sup>. He contributed to the works directed by Bishop Goldwell, in Norwich cathedral, especially the groined ceiling of the choir, and was interred in a chapel on the north side of the nave; his altar-tomb remains, stripped of its brasses.—*The Lady Suffield, Blickling*.

An illuminated atchievement, of great singularity, exhibiting the arms of the Seneschal de Buxton, who flourished in the fifteenth century, surrounded by allegorical figures representing Day and Night, Life and Death, the Web of Life, and the ages of man. It is painted in body-colours on primed linen, and was probably connected with some chivalrous celebration and *emprise d'armes*, achieved by the gallant ancestor of the house of Shadwell. It was preserved at Bungay priory, until the dissolution of monasteries.—*Lady Buxton and Sir Robert Buxton, Bart., Shadwell Park*.

Portraits of Antoine de Boileau, Seigneur de Castelnau, and his wife Francoise de Tresselière, married in 1497. They are portrayed as praying in an oratory, in which appears a painting of the Virgin and Child, the head of the Virgin defaced. This very interesting specimen of early art bears the date 1510. Portrait of Rose de Calvière, daughter of John, marquis de Calvière; she espoused, in 1576, John de Boileau, chevalier, Seigneur de Castelnau. An interesting example of the art of that period, and very curious as an illustration

<sup>b</sup> See Blomef. Hist. of Norf. viii. 19, and x. 161.

of costume. From the collection of family portraits at Ketteringham Hall.—*Sir John Boileau, Bart.*

An hexagonal wooden stand, curiously ornamented with paintings; date, early in the fifteenth century. It had been supposed to have served as a desk for choristers or musicians; dimensions, height, 3 ft. 4 in., width of each side 30 in. The three front panels only were, perhaps, decorated with figures; on one is painted an angel playing with the plectrum on a four-stringed *cistre*, the ground diapered with fleur-de-lys; another angel is playing on a harp. This stand was formerly in North Burlingham church, Norfolk. Also, four painted wooden panels, from the screen separating the chapel of St. Thomas from the south aisle, at Barton Turf, Norfolk. These curious examples of early art portray St. Edmund, with a foliated crown, an arrow in his left hand:—"s. holofus" represented as a king, bearing a large axe; a nimbe around his head: this is St. Olave, also called St. Tooley, king of Norway, whose usual symbol is the axe:—Edward the Confessor (nimbed), holding the ring in his left hand; and Henry VI. (not nimbed), who alone wears the arched, or imperial, crown. Height of the figures, 2 ft. 11 in.—*The Rev. John Gunn.*

A painting on panel, of the latter part of the fifteenth century, representing a man in a scarlet robe lined with ermine, holding a string of beads: from his mouth is a legend—*Æhū fili dei mei miserere mīll'i*. Five sons kneel near him. His wife appears with eleven daughters, kneeling.—*Te dep'cor xp̄c mei Agnetis miserere*. From St. John's Maddermarket church, Norwich.—*Mr. Charles Lock.*

A series of fifty-two exquisitely illuminated drawings, by Mrs. Gunn, representing the decorations of the painted screen-work in Randworth church, Norfolk, and exhibiting most curious figures of Apostles, saints, and martyrs, the general arrangement and architectural design of the two screens, one in the south, the other in the north aisle, and an interior view of the Church.—*Dawson Turner, Esq., F.S.A.*

Drawings, beautifully executed by Mrs. Gunn, representing a remarkable figure of St. Walstan, a Norfolk saint and confessor, born at Bawburgh, near Norwich. This figure is depicted on the screen at Ludham, Norfolk. He is portrayed in regal crimson and ermine, a nimbus around his head, in the right hand he holds a sceptre, in the left a scythe. Below is written *for Walst. . . .* The legend of this saint is given by Capgrave, and in Blomefield's History of Norfolk, vol. ii. p. 387.—*Mrs. Gunn.*

St. Erasmus, a drawing of a curious representation of that saint from the screen in the church of St. Michael's at Plea, Norwich.—*Mr. Henry Harrod.*

Four beautiful illuminated drawings, representing the embroidered pall, belonging to the company of Fishmongers of London:—an ancient cope, belonging to the countess dowager of Newburgh, formerly in the possession of Sir John Webb, Bart., of Hathropp, Gloucestershire:—the remarkable portraits of James III. of Scotland, and his son, afterwards James IV.; from a picture at Hampton Court Palace, apparently part of a triptic or altar painting: and an exquisite portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, from a picture in the possession of Patrick Frazer Tytler, Esq.—*Executed and exhibited by Mr. Henry Shaw, F.S.A.*

A valuable series of twenty-three unpublished drawings, representing the ancient gates of the city of Norwich, taken, inside and outside the city, by John Ninham, Sen., shortly before their destruction in 1792, 3. A view of "Hassett's House," which formerly occupied the site on which the cavalry barracks now stand. A panoramic view of Norwich, executed in 1810; views of Norwich cathedral and the bishop's chapel, of the market-place, St. Stephen's church,

and the east end of the guild hall ; all taken by Mr. Henry Aston Barker, formerly proprietor of the Panorama, Leicester Square. A portrait of "Snap," the dragon-figure formerly carried in municipal pageantries at Norwich ; drawn by Mr. Hodgson : a view of the water gate of the precincts, at Sandling's Ferry, looking from the river, drawn by J. H. Miller, 1810 ; south view of Norwich castle, by H. A. Barker, 1810 ; west view of the castle, before the old shire hall was demolished, and the new one was erected, J. H. Miller, 1810 ; views of the Erpingham gate, and of the old buildings opposite to it ; a series of small drawings, illustrative of the city of Norwich, made, for the late Mr. W. Stevenson, F.S.A., by Mr. Ladbroke ; views of Burgh castle, near Great Yarmouth, illustrative of Mr. Ives' "Garianonum." Also, a collection of prints and drawings illustrative of Norfolk topography, and an unpublished drawing by Mackenzie, representing the south-west view of the lantern and nave of Ely cathedral ; also executed for the late Mr. William Stevenson, F.S.A.—*Mr. Seth William Stevenson, F.S.A.*

Drawings representing a sculptured stand or post, from North Creak abbey, ornamented with figures in tabernacle work, possibly the foot of a lectern. Date, about 1500. Also, a representation of an ancient carved mantel-piece, in Mr. Muskett's possession.—*Mr. Muskett, Norwich.*

A collection of drawings, representing various interesting and ancient objects, executed by Mr. J. L. Williams. It comprised the singular head of Bishop Seffrid's pastoral staff, found in Chichester cathedral, and formed of jet ; a silver bell supposed to have belonged to the nuns of Sion, and a jewelled cross or reliquary, both from Lord Shrewsbury's collection at Alton Towers ; a remarkable carved chair, in the long gallery at the Master's Lodge, St. John's college, Cambridge ; a watch which belonged to Charles I., in the possession of the Worsley family, in the Isle of Wight ; a small watch of very elegant form, supposed to have been worn by Cromwell, it belongs to Mr. Creed, of Bury St. Edmund's ; a silver gilt tankard, supposed to have belonged to Charles II., in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford ; and one of the fine silver andirons at Knole, Kent, *t. Will. III.*—*Mr. J. L. Williams.*

Original portrait of Sir Thomas Brown, presented by his only surviving son, Edward Brown, M.D., to the parish of St. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich, in the church of which Sir Thomas was buried. He was born Oct. 19, 1605, and died in his house in the Hay Market, Norwich, Oct. 19, 1682. Blomefield states that this portrait was presented to the parish by Dr. Howman, who lived in that house. This interesting portrait was exhibited in the Museum suspended over the ancient carved mantel-piece, formerly in Sir Thomas Brown's house at Norwich, and exhibited by the kindness of Messrs. Stannard, of that city. See an account of Sir Thomas Brown's monument in Blomefield, vol. iv. p. 193.—*Mr. Fitch.*

The chimney-piece of oak, elaborately carved, in the style of the revived classical taste, which prevailed in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. It formerly decorated the principal chamber in the residence of Sir Thomas Brown, in the Hay Market, Norwich, demolished in 1844.—*Messrs. Stannard, of Norwich.*

Impression from the coffin-plate commemorative of Sir Thomas Brown : it is in the form of an heraldic scutcheon, and thus inscribed.—*Amplissimus Vir D<sup>ns</sup> Thomas Brown Miles, Medicinæ Dr. Annos Natus 77 Denatus 19 Die mensis Octobris Anno D<sup>ni</sup> 1682, hoc loculo dormiens, corporis spagyrici pulvere plumbum in aurum convertit.* Sir Thomas was born Oct. 19, 1605, and was buried in the parish church of St. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich.—*Mr. Fitch.*

A sculptured panel of shrine-work, representing the resurrection, probably part of the reredos of an altar. It is formed of alabaster, the figures carved in

high relief, the character of design being that of the times of Henry VI.—*The Right Hon. Lord Stafford.*

A sculptured panel of shrine-work, of alabaster, part of the decorations of an altar. Fifteenth century. It represents a group of female saints. Engraved in Carter's "Sculpture and Painting," pl. 77.—*The Churchwardens of St. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich.*

Two small panels of sculptured alabaster, representing the flight into Egypt, and the Saviour between the Virgin Mary and Joseph, the Deity represented above. Date, early in the sixteenth century. One of them was found in 1823 at Drayton, Norfolk; the other in Mulbarton churchyard, Norfolk, 1815. Height, about 9 inches.—*Mr. James Mills.*

An illuminated MS. of the Apocalypse and legendary history of St. John the Evangelist, of most curious character. The drawings are penned and partially coloured, drawn with great care and detail. This valuable volume is probably of French art. Thirteenth century.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

A selection of illuminated MSS. from the Blickling library, comprising a Psalter, date about 1450, of the Flemish style of illumination, two volumes of Hours and Prayers, date 1470-80, specimens of French art, the former MS. containing many curious entries, illustrative of the genealogy of the family of Coquille; and an Italian MS. of Suetonius, date about 1520.—*The Right Hon. Lady Suffield, Blickling.*

An interesting MS. of Hours, an example of French art, of the latter part of the fourteenth century. This volume is supposed to have been formerly in the possession of Catharine de Medicis. Also, a Missal of the fifteenth century, said to have belonged to Archbishop Chichely.—*The Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, Costessey.*

A MS. collection of prayers, with curious illuminated miniatures; date, about 1450. It was formerly in the possession of Mr. Thomas Shuckforth of Saham, in 1781.—*The Rev. William Grigson, Rector of Whinbergh.*

A MS. Psalter, adapted to the religious service of the Friars Preachers; probably written at Cologne, about 1490.—*The Rev. W. T. Spurdens.*

A plan, elevation, longitudinal and transverse sections of the fine hall at Oakham, Rutlandshire, of transitional Norman style. Drawn by Mr. John Clayton. Also, a large interior view of Hereford cathedral.—*The Very Rev. the Dean of Hereford.*

Facsimile, or rubbing, of the following inscription, running in one line along the front of a wooden gallery, at the west end of Cawston church, Norfolk.—  
 God speke the þlote and send us ale corn enow our purpose for to make at crowe of  
 cok of pe þlotelete of Sygate: Be mery and glade war good ale þis work mad.  
 Bequests to the plough-lights of Cawston, Sygate, Eastgate, &c., are mentioned in Blomefield's account of that place, Hist. Norf. vi. p. 264. William Herward, of Cawston, in 1490 bequeaths 12d. to the "Plowlyght of Sygate," and the like sum "to the dawnce of Sygate," and every other plough-light in Cawston, and "dawnce" of that town. See the curious extracts from wills preserved in the registry of the archdeaconry of Norwich, communicated by Mr. Harrod to the Norfolk Archæological Society. Norf. Archæol., vol. i. p. 119. See notices of the "Fool Plough," and Plough Monday in Brand's Antiquities.—*Mr. W. C. Ewing.*

Coloured representations of a valuable series of heraldic tiles, existing in the church of Bredon, Worcestershire; date, fourteenth century.—*Mr. Orlando Jewitt.*

A Flemish carving in wood, of the latter part of the fifteenth century.—*Mr. W. Faulkner Lee.*

Carving, in oak, of Flemish work, representing Henrietta Maria and her children.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

A collection of rubbings from sepulchral brasses, taken with unusual perfection, chiefly on dark coloured paper with yellow wax imitating the brass. They comprised the effigies of Sir John D'Aubernon, from Stoke Dabernon church, Surrey, date 1277; the earliest specimen known; Sir Roger de Trumpington, 1289; Sir Robert de Bures, 1302, from Acton, Suffolk; Sir — Fitzralph, date about 1320, from Pebmarsh, Essex; an ecclesiastic, one of the Bacon family, date about 1320, from Oulton, Suffolk; Nicholas de Aumberdene, about 1350, Taplow, Bucks.; Sir John de Leventhorpe, date about 1432, from Sawbridgeworth, Herts.; Alice de Bryan, 1430, from Acton, Suffolk; William Bischopton, priest, 1432, from Great Bromley, Essex.—*The Rev. C. Boutell.*

A collection of rubbings from sepulchral brasses existing in churches at Norwich.—*Mr. Enfield, jun.*

Facsimile tracing from the ancient map of the town and port of Yarmouth, as existing in the reign of Henry VIII.—*Mr. Henry Harrod.*

Castle Acre priory, a representation produced by means of the calotype.—*Mr. T. G. Bayfield.*

Impression from a curious little brass of a man in armour; his head bare, but he wears the mentonière, usually found with a salade.—*Orate p' aīa Thome Gybon gen'osi qui obijt v° die Junij a° di. m° cccc lxxxiiij°. cui' aīe p'piciet' de' amē.* From Whissonsett church, Norfolk.—*Mr. George Carthew.*

#### SPECIMENS OF ENAMELLED WORK.

Circular enamelled fibulæ of bronze, of Anglo-Roman work, found at Little Dunham, near Swaffham; (see woodcuts;) also, a bronze knife-handle, found in Norwich, partly enamelled.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

Enamelled fibulæ and ornaments, considered to be of Anglo-Roman date, found at Felixstow, Suffolk, and in building the Union House at Colchester, 1836, 7.—*Mr. W. Whincopp.*

A remarkable object of bronze, partly enamelled, described as having been discovered in Norfolk. It resembles in character and workmanship the bronze ornaments found at Stanwick, exhibited by permission of the duke of Northumberland in the museum formed during the York Meeting, as also those discovered at Polden Hill, both now preserved in the British Museum. (Compare Catalogue of the Museum, York volume, pl. iv. fig. 2.) It has been supposed to have formed part of the adjustments of a chariot. The enamel is introduced in small circular cavities.—*The Right Hon. Lord Hastings.*

Several fragments of bronze, partly enamelled, of the same curious character and workmanship, part of a considerable collection found in ploughing at Saham, Norfolk. Exhibited by the kind permission of the authorities of the Norwich Museum, in which these highly curious relics have been deposited. They are engraved in the Memoirs published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, vol. ii. p. 398.

An enamelled reliquary, (*cofra de Limogia*), of the form of a chapel or shrine with a high-ridged roof, an excellent example of the *champ-levé* process practised by the enamellers of Limoges in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The subjects represented, are, the arrival, and the adoration, of the Magi.—*The Right Hon. Lord Hastings.*



The head or crook of a pastoral staff, (*cambuca*), a beautiful specimen of the art of enamelling in the thirteenth century, the *opus de Limogia*. It was brought from Italy, but appears to be of Limoges workmanship.—*The Marquis of Northampton*.

An exquisite specimen of goldsmith's work, prepared for the application of enamel, in chief part of transparent colour, so that the design chased on the metal appeared through the vitrified coating. Some small portions only of enamel remain. It is a pendant reliquary of pure gold, possibly intended to contain an *agnus*, and was found near Devizes. On one side is represented an archbishop, on the other St. John Baptist, with the motto—*A MON DERREYNE*. Weight, 1 oz. 8 dwts. 9 gr. Fifteenth century. Representations are given in the *Archæol. Journal*, vol. v. p. 157.—*The Rev. William Maskell*.

A little gold reliquary, of somewhat similar fashion to the last, delicately engraved with a representation of the crucifixion, the incised lines filled in with black enamel, or a kind of *niello*. This very choice relic of ancient art in the precious metals was found at Matlask, in Norfolk.—*Mr. Fitch*.

A silver pomander box, of Italian workmanship, most elegantly chased and enamelled, formed so as to contain seven various scents, in distinct compartments. It opens like a flower, each petal containing a separate perfumed pastille.—*Miss Leycester, Park Mount, Macclesfield*.

A miniature portrait, in enamel, of Jacob, Lord Astley, of Reading, in the reign of Charles I. He died in 1651.—*The Lord Hastings*.

Six miniatures in enamel, amongst which were portraits of James II. and of Inigo Jones. An enamel by Petitot, a portrait of Sir Harry Vane.—*Mr. Richard Ward*.

Several specimens of late enamel, miniature portraits of the earlier part of the last century.—*The Rev. Neville Rolfe*.

Limoges enamel, painted in the style of Pierre Rexmon. Date, about 1560. The subject is the miraculous vision of St. Hubert.—*Mr. John Norgate*.

A good specimen of Limoges art of the sixteenth century, an enamel representing the Virgin and Child, with St. John the Baptist. Painted by Baptiste Nouailher, about 1580. Two other French enamels of the same period, one representing the crucifixion, the other a legendary subject; a female recluse is seen *in extremis*, a saint habited as a monk appears in a vision and restores her to health.—*The Lord Hastings*.

A remarkably fine example of late enamelled work, being a large bivalve shell, mounted on a foot, formed of mixed yellow metal (not copper) elaborately enamelled, light blue, white and black being the prevailing colours. This late variety of the *champ-levé* process appears to have been practised in our own country. This extraordinary specimen is, however, possibly of foreign workmanship. It was originally in the collection formed by the earl of Yarmouth, grandson of Charles II., at Oxnead, and is now preserved at Shadwell Park.—*Lady Buxton*.

A curious enamelled candlestick, supposed to be of English workmanship; date early in the seventeenth century. The character of work and colour of the enamels bears much resemblance to that of the preceding specimen.—*Mr. John Warner, Aylsham*.

A small drinking cup, of Russian workmanship, called a *charka*, bearing inscriptions in ancient Slavonian character. It is of silver gilt, enamelled with dark blue and light green colours, and ornamented with figures of various animals. This kind of cup is used for drinking healths, the inscription has been thus explained—"A good man's cup to drink for health, praising God, and praying

for many years health to the Hospodar." And around the foot—"This cup for wise men to drink to their joy, and for the evil to their destruction."—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

A *benitoire*, for holy water, of silver fillagree, set with gems, with a representation of the Virgin and Child, beautifully enamelled, brought from Portugal. —*Mr. W. S. Wilson.*

#### CARVINGS IN IVORY.

A forcer or casket of ivory, sculptured with subjects of romance, in the finest style of French art, during the earlier part of the fourteenth century. On the lid appears the favourite subject of the siege of the *Chateau d'Amour*, or Castle of Roses. It presents four compartments, in which are portrayed,—in the centre, a joust, two mounted knights armed in mail, with greaves and round ailettes, are crossing their spears; the crest of one is a rose, that of the other a bird; above, in a latticed gallery, appear six figures, amongst which are the "*dames par amours*" of the combatants. On one side is represented the assault; the knight and his companion, in front of a fortress, aim shafts headed with roses at the battlements with cross-bow and mangonel, whilst roses are hurled upon them; on the other the knight scales the walls by a rope ladder, despite of the masses of flowers thrown from the walls. On the front appear four compartments, in which are subjects from the *Lai d'Aristotle*. The sage is portrayed in the first, teaching Alexander from a large book on a lectern the folly of his infatuation for the Indian queen: he next appears on all-fours, bearing the maiden on his back, whilst his royal pupil looks out of a tower-window in amazement. In the next are two old men, one carrying a damsel on his shoulders, whilst an aged female follows the other; and the fourth division represents four damsels bathing at a sculptured fountain. On the *right* hand end of the casket is figured a subject from the second part of the *Saint Graal*, namely, the adventure of Galaad, armed in mail, with a long straight sword, and receiving from the hermit the key of the 'castle of damsels.' The knight's mailed steed appears under a tree in the background. On the other end are two distinct subjects,—one representing the scene from the *fabliau* of the *Comtesse de Vergy*, representing her interview in the orchard with Sir Agolane, who had placed the duke of Burgundy concealed in a tree near the fountain, where they are sitting, and in which the reflection of the duke's face is seen; the other portraying the favourite subject of the capture of the unicorn, which had fled, according to the old notion, to lay its head in the lap of a virgin, in a woody scene<sup>1</sup>. On the back of the casket appears the adventure of the *Chevalier au Lion*; an armed knight with vizor closed combating a lion; the *pont d'épée*, or bridge formed of a sword along which the knight is passing, whilst waves roar beneath, spears and swords shower from above; these subjects are from the romance of *Lancelot du Lac*, and appear curiously sculptured on a capital in the church of St. Peter, at Caen<sup>2</sup>. Next appears the knight sleeping on an enchanted bed, on wheels, and a trapping with bells; the sword-blades still haunt him from the clouds; in the last division are three damsels, who regard the knight with interest. This exquisite little coffer, probably a nuptial gift, measures 8½ in. by 5 in. and 3¼ in height: the lock and mountings are of silver. It is of the same age, and apparently the work of the same artist, as that formerly in the collection of Gustavus Brander, and after-

<sup>1</sup> See Upton de Stud. Mil., p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Dawson Turner's interesting Letters from Normandy, vol. ii. p. 179.

wards of Mr. Douce, by whose bequest it was deposited in Sir Samuel Meyrick's museum, at Goodrich Court. Carter published very good representations of the carvings, in his "Painting and Sculpture." Another forcer, of similar character, but varied in some of the subjects, was communicated to the French Academy by M. Levesque de la Ravalière, in 1745, and formed the subject of a treatise, with illustrations, given in the *Memoires de l'Acad.*, tom. xviii. p. 322. These bas-reliefs have been also given by Ferrario, *Romanzi di Cavalleria*, vol. ii. p. 100.—*Mr. Seth W. Stevenson, F.S.A.*

Two carvings in ivory, works of the earlier part of the fourteenth century. The subjects represented are, the scourging of our Lord, and the martyrdom of St. Stephen.—*Mr. C. J. Freeman.*

A remarkable ivory carving, supposed to have been destined for some sacred purpose: it appears to represent the Deity.—*Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A.*

A small casket of ivory, sculptured with sacred subjects, namely,—the Annunciation, the Mater dolorosa, St. John the Baptist, St. Nicholas and St. Louis. Date, early in the sixteenth century.—*The Rev. W. Tilney Spurdens.*

A curious figure of the "Good Shepherd," sculptured in ivory: he is represented asleep, seated on a rock, from which flows a stream of water into a fountain; and beneath is a cavern, in which reclines a female figure, pointing to an open book. The shepherd holds one of his sheep on his knee, another on his shoulder, the rest surround the base. The date and intention of these singular ornaments, of which several have recently been brought to this country, is not known: perforations appear at the back and down both sides, as if for receiving flowers(?)—Also a crucifix of very fine character, the figure of ivory, the base of marble, with symbols of the passion. From the cathedral of Braga, in Portugal. A beautiful specimen of sculpture in ivory, representing St. John the Baptist, the Magdalen and other sacred subjects. The design of very good character. Brought from Oporto.—*Mr. S. W. Wilson.*

An ivory *pax*, representing the annunciation, with the angelic salutation *Ave Maria*; height 5 in. Sixteenth century. Another *pax* of carved ivory, on one side appears the Blessed Virgin, the infant Saviour above, in a *nimbus*, on the other side one of the shepherds.—"Gloria in excelsis Deo."—*The Rev. Samuel Tillow.*

An interesting specimen of carving in ivory, part of an ancient comb.—*The Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.*

A casket, exhibited by Mr. Priest, of Norwich, through the Rev. Thomas Burney.

An ivory rappoir, exquisitely carved, probably of French workmanship, and of the time of Louis XV. It contains a grater or rasp of metal, and was used, when snuff-taking first came into vogue, for pulverising the tobacco leaf, whence the snuff was termed rappee.—*The Lady Catharine Boileau.*

Another carved rappoir of ivory, of the same age and character of workmanship. A representation of one of these graters of rather earlier date, is given, with observations by Mr. Planché, *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. pl. xxxiv.—*The Lord Hastings.*

The ivory mouth-piece of a flask, probably intended for powder. It is cleverly carved, representing probably the head of the *bouquetin*, or Alpine goat, and appears to be of German workmanship.—*Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A.*

Hilt of a couteau de chasse, formed of ivory, curiously sculptured. Date, about 1630.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

A carving in ivory, Venus and Cupid; date about the middle of the seventeenth century.—*Mr. A. Kent.*



## EMBROIDERIES.

An ancient embroidery on crimson velvet, now used as a pulpit cloth in the church of Forest Hill, near Oxford. It probably formed part of a cope, of workmanship of the fifteenth century. The embroideries represent seraphim standing upon wheels, as described in the Vision of Ezekiel, with the legend—*S'cta Maria tuis subbenas fau . .* (? *favens, or fautoribus*;) and other angelic beings with scrolls inscribed—*Da gloriam Deo*; the same pious admonition which is found on the altar-cloth of similar work and design, (next described,) from the church of Bircham Tofts.—*The Rev. John Wilson, B.D., Trinity College, Oxford.*

A piece of embroidery, of the fifteenth century, now used as an altar-cloth in the church of Bircham Tofts, Norfolk, and bearing much resemblance in general design to that last described.—*The Rev. Jermyn Pratt.*

A piece of ancient embroidery on crimson velvet, now used as an altar-cloth, belonging to the parish of St. James, Norwich. It is ornamented with figures of seraphim, and the assumption of the Virgin. Date, about 1470.—*Exhibited by the Rev. G. Calvert.*

An embroidered crimson and gold altar-cloth, of the same age and workmanship. On a roundel appears a merchant's mark, with the initials I. W., and around it the inscription—*Pray for the soules of John Westgate & Mawde his wyffe.*—Blomefield gives the name—John Westgate—and notices a brass inscription to the memory of Mawde, who died 1538<sup>1</sup>. Also, a pall, embroidered with gold thread. Two rows of ornaments appear upon it, the one consisting of angels conveying the souls of the departed to heaven; the other representing dolphins embowed, as heraldically described, devouring small fishes. Blomefield describes it, as bearing the inscription—*Pray for the Soules of John Westgate and Agnes his wyffe.* These specimens of ancient needle-work belong to the church of St. Gregory, Norwich.—*Exhibited by permission of the Churchwardens.*

An embroidery on velvet, probably part of an ancient vestment, now used as an altar-cloth at Martham, Norfolk.—*The Rev. George Pearse, Vicar of Martham.*

An armorial escutcheon, of embroidered work, displaying the arms of John Bouchier, Lord Fitzwaryn, afterwards second earl of Bath, and his second wife, Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Manners, Lord Roos, and sister to Thomas, first earl of Rutland. The bearing of Bouchier having the label, as a difference, shews that the work was executed before the death of his father, in 1539. The arms of Manners deserve notice, as being antecedent to the royal augmentation in chief, granted to the earl of Rutland, on his creation in 1525, in consequence of his descent from Eleanor, eldest sister of Edward IV. Also, another specimen of curious medieval embroidery.—*The Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, Costessey.*

A piece of embroidery, described as having been worked by Mary, Queen of Scots, for the covering of a chair at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire.—*Mr. S. W. Stevenson, F.S.A.*

Embroidery on cloth, stated to have formed part of the ornamental border of a desk-covering, in a church in Norfolk. Date, about 1600.—*Miss Colby.*

A beautiful specimen of tapestry-work, apparently of German workmanship, the subjects represented are the adoration of the Magi, and symbols of the Evangelists. Date, about 1630. It bears an armorial scutcheon,—azure, a stag rampant argent, and gules, a patriarchal cross.—*The Lady Catharine Boileau.*

An embroidered cushion-cover, studded with imitations of pearls and garnets,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Norfolk, vol. iv. p. 208.

of very curious work ; the subject represented is the history of Queen Esther. Date, the close of the sixteenth century.—*Mr. T. Mott, Barningham.*

A cushion covered with elaborate Venetian bead-work. Date, about 1640.—*Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart.*

Specimens of Spanish, Chinese and Oriental embroideries, of great beauty and richness of colour. Also, an embroidered cushion-cover, of Flemish work.—*The Lady Suffield, of Blickling.*

A pair of embroidered dress gloves of very thin leather, fringed with silver lace. They were presented, as tradition states, by Queen Elizabeth to Sir John Astley, of Maidstone, knight. Also, a cushion-cover, exquisitely embroidered, as tradition affirms, by the Queen's own hands, and by her presented to Sir John Astley.—*The Lord Hastings.*

A pair of embroidered gloves, of the times of James I. Also, a specimen of ancient lace, and a pair of ladies' shoes of blue satin, a relic of the fashions of the earlier years of the last century.—*Miss Colby.*

A pair of court gloves, of the seventeenth century ; brought originally from the old mansion of the dukes of Norfolk, at Kenninghall.—*Mr. C. R. Manning, Diss.*

A handkerchief of fine cambric, with the crown and cypher C R embroidered upon it, supposed to have belonged to Charles I.—*Mr. T. Addison.*

An embroidered *gibbecière*, or pouch ; date, sixteenth century.—*Rev. W. T. Spurdens.*

Another pouch, ornamented with embroidery, of French workmanship ; date, seventeenth century.—*Mr. Richard Ward.*

#### MATRICES AND IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS, SIGNET RINGS, &c.

The common seal of the abbot and convent of Talley, or Tallech, Caermarthen-shire, founded by Rees, son of Rees, prince of South Wales, in the reign of Edward I. The matrix was found at Wymondham, Norfolk, and is in the possession of Mr. A. Kent. It is of circular form, date fifteenth century. The principal device is the Holy Lamb, and beneath, the half figure of a mitred ecclesiastic bearing a crosier,—*\* s' abbtis et conuent' mon'st'iſ b'e marie de talley.*—*Mr. Kent.*

Silver matrix, of oval form, the seal of a monk of the abbey of Aberbrothick, in Angus, founded by William the Lion, A.D. 1178, in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury, who is represented upon this seal, with an angel kneeling on either side, and beneath, a monk in supplication. S. F. W. MATIA (?) MONAC DABER-BROTHOT. Date, about 1400. (Engraved, *Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1802, p. 993.) Also, a circular silver matrix, supposed to have been a privy seal of James IV., king of Scots, A.D. 1488—1513. It bears a figure of the king on his throne, and the legend, IACOBUS . DEI . GRACIA . ESCOSSIE . REX .—*Mr. Hawkins.*

Silver matrix, of lozenge form, the seal of the bailiffs of Dunwich, Suffolk. In the centre appears a vessel floating on the waves, the bust of a king emerging from it. *Sigillum balliuorum de Dunwico.* Date, thirteenth century. This valuable seal is in the possession of Lady Bowater. Circular brass matrix, an escutcheon of arms, two bars, one of them charged with a mullet, SIGILL'V WILL'I : DE : LATOVR. Date, circa 1370. In the possession of Mr. Spalding, of Bungay. Matrix of the shrievalty seal for the county of Suffolk, supposed to have been used during the office of John Acton. Matrix of the seal of the Friars Minors of the order of St. Lazarus, in England. Date, circa 1400. Personal seal of the fifteenth century found in the precinct of the ancient nunnery, at Bungay. Two small brass matrices, found at Eye, Suffolk, one with a fleur-de-lys, fifteenth century. Also

three signet rings, two of them found at Dunwich. Facsimile in gutta percha of the seal of St. Martin's priory, Dover. An intaglio portrait of Mary Queen of Scots; supposed to have been executed by Harris, an engraver on gems in the reign of Charles I. Impressions of the great seals of Henry IV., Queen Mary, Elizabeth, James I. and George II. Seal of Roger de Huntingfeld, 9 Edw. III. A large collection of impressions from seals most successfully taken in gutta-percha.—*The Rev. S. Blois Turner, Halesworth.*

A beautiful gold signet ring, bearing the singular device of the Arabic numerals 87 under a coronet, and the letters a. s. h. m. It was found in Kenilworth castle. Date, fifteenth century. Also a brass ring, found at Coleshill, Warwickshire, bearing the initials T. G. under a crown. These rings are preserved amongst the Warwickshire collections, formed by William Staunton, Esq., of Longbridge, Warwick. Representations are given in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iv. p. 358. Also impressions from a fine series of conventual matrices, formerly in the possession of the antiquary, Tyson, and now in Mr. Staunton's cabinet.—*The Rev. William Staunton.*

Impression of the great seal of Henry VIII.—*The Rev. James Bulwer.*

Impression from the obverse of the unique seal of Southwick priory, Hampshire. The original matrices are of brass, of most curious construction; they were preserved with the muniments of the priory, and are now in the possession of John Bonham Carter, Esq. Date, the close of the thirteenth century. Representations of this remarkable seal are given in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. pl. 32, with a valuable memoir by Sir F. Madden.—*Mr. Dawson Turner.*

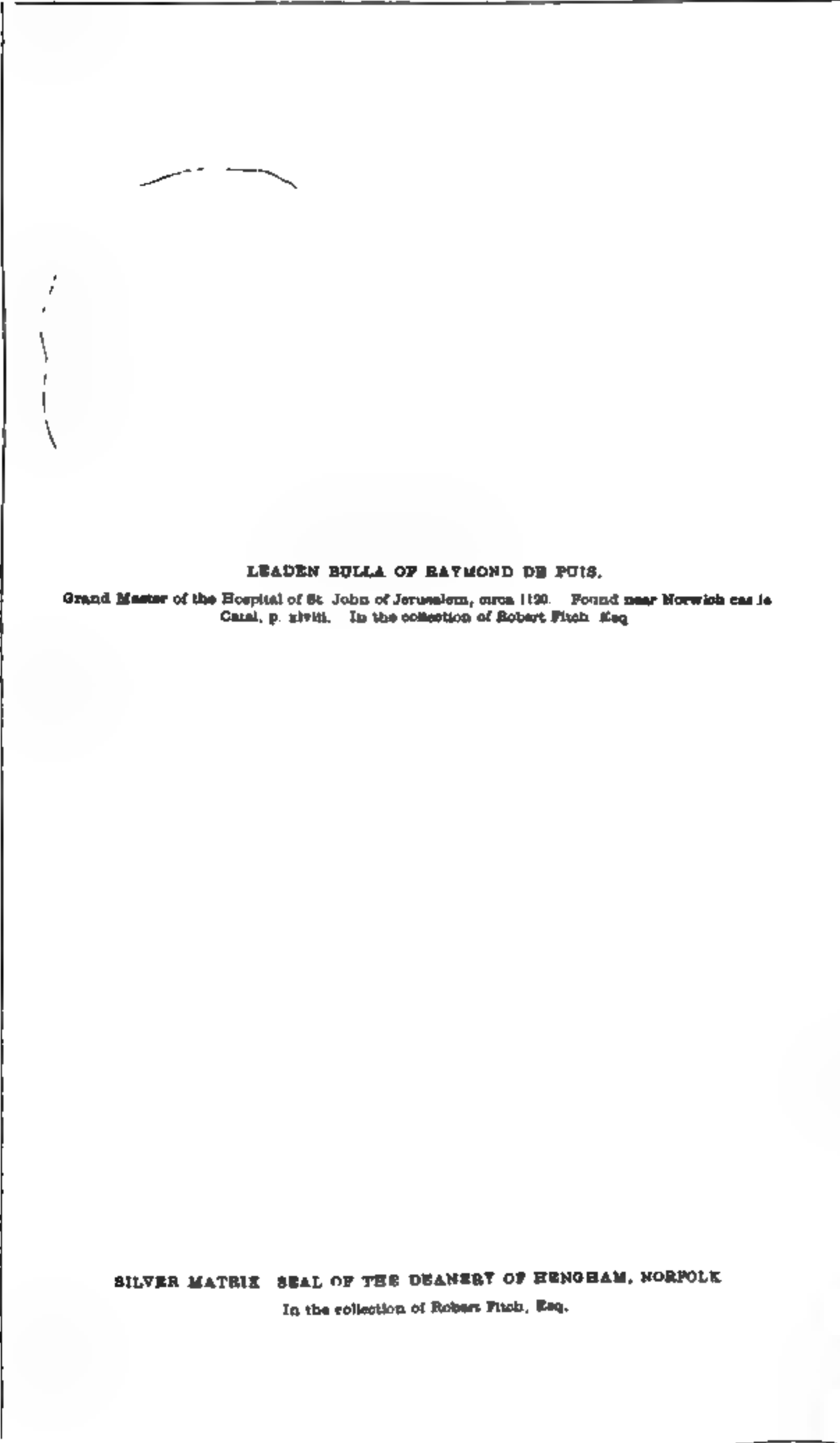
Reverse of the seal of Southwick priory.—*The Marquis of Northampton.*

A choice collection of rings, seals, and interesting relics, found in Norfolk, and chiefly in the city or neighbourhood of Norwich. A leaden bulla, found near the walls of the castle: on the obverse appears Raymond de Puis, Master of the order of Hospitallers, about 1120. Reverse, the church of the Holy Sepulchre. (See the annexed Illustrations.) *Gold Rings.*—1. A beautiful example set with a sapphire: supposed to be of the fourteenth century: the plain head, or bezel, of the ring projects very much, a peculiarity of form which appears in a few other specimens, (especially one found near Prudhoe castle, and communicated to the Institute by His Grace the Duke of Northumberland; and a ring of silver, with the head *bifid*, set with a sapphire and a ruby, in the collection of Mr. W. C. Ewing of Norwich.) Found in 1821, under the walls on the north side of Norwich castle, with the silver privy seal (described hereafter). 2. A ring set with a beryl, date about the reign of Henry VI., found at St. Faith's, near Norwich. 3. A curious ring of the same age, found near Norwich; it is engrailed, presenting *ten* cusps, and may be placed in the class of decade-rings, used instead of beads, to number prayers. On the facet is engraved the figure of St. Mary Magdalen (or St. Barbara?) and on the outer circle—*De bon cœur.*—*de bon cœur.*—4. Another of the same date, but of more delicate workmanship, once probably enamelled: on the facet is engraved St. Christopher, the hoop is engrailed, like the last, and bears the legend—*en . bo . n . e . ant .*—*en bon an ?* Found at Attleborough. 5. A signet ring with the initials R. F. Date, the close of the sixteenth century. Found in the ruins of the Gray Friars' priory, Norwich. 6. A remarkable signet ring, date about 1600. It bears the arms, two dolphins hauriant, affrontées, in chief three escallops. Found at Sprowston, near Norwich<sup>m</sup>.

*Silver Rings.*—1. A curious specimen, set with a dark-coloured substance, supposed by some to be the *œtites*, accounted to possess certain talismanic properties.

<sup>m</sup> See *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. iv. p. 150.

**MUSEUM OF THE INSTITUTE, NORWICH.**



**LEADEN BULLA OF RAYMOND DE PUIS.**

Grand Master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, circa 1190. Found near Norwich castle  
Catal. p. xlviii. In the collection of Robert Fitch Esq.

**SILVER MATRIX SEAL OF THE DEANERY OF HENGBAM, NORFOLK**

In the collection of Robert Fitch, Esq.



It is, however, most probably a palatal tooth of a fish, like those of the *Sphærodus Gigas*, (Agassiz.) This closely resembles the precious ring given, according to tradition, by Richard, Cœur de Lion, to one of the Dawnay family, in the Holy Wars, and adopted as their crest. It is preserved in the possession of the Viscount Downe, and was shewn by him at the Meeting of the Institute at York. Another ring with the same curious setting is in the possession of Mr. Albert Way. Thirteenth century. 2. A ring engraved with a figure of a female saint, and the symbols of the five wounds. Date, about t. Hen. VI. Found at Catton. See in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 306, a gold ring bearing representations of the five wounds of our Saviour, designated as wells of everlasting life. 3. Another of the same age, found at Fransham; the hoop swaged or twisted; on the angular facets had been engraved figures of saints. 4. A plain ring, engraved—✠ maria ✠ anna ✠ Ih'us ✠.—Found at Catton. 5. A ring, formerly gilt, the hoop slightly engrailed, forming eleven lozenge-shaped panels, each ornamented with a quatre-foil. Found at Watton. 6. A betrothal ring, formed with hands clasped, and inscribed—MAI IHS.—Formerly gilt: date, about 1500.

*Rings of latten, or base metal.*—1, 2. Two rings bearing initial letters surmounted by a crown, a fashion which prevailed towards the close of the fourteenth, and during the following century. Signet rings with such devices appear to have been commonly used by persons not entitled to assume the coronet. One of these examples, found at Hellesdon, bears the initial A.; the other, from Earham, has the impress of a T. Date, early in the fifteenth century. 3. A ring formed like a strap or garter, buckled, and inscribed MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI. Found at Necton. Date, about 1450. Rings of this fashion were in use from the close of the fourteenth century, shortly after the institution of the Order of the Garter. Other specimens are to be seen in the British Museum, and in the collection of the Archæological Institute. 4. A ring, engraved with a figure of a female saint, possibly St. Catharine; the hoop formed with eleven bosses. This appears to belong to the class of "decade-rings." Date, *circa* 1450. A similar brass ring, bearing the figure of St. Catharine, was found near British and Roman weapons in the bed of the Thames at Kingston, and is engraved in Jesse's "Gleanings of Natural History." 5. A ring of the same period, found at Thetford; the device is an eagle displayed: it was formerly enamelled. 6. A good example of the betrothal ring, bearing on the facet two letters—i. and r. united by a cord, forming the true-lover's knot. They are in relief, not intended to serve as a seal. Mr. Crofton Croker has given some curious notices of the varieties and intention of these knots and initials. (*Journal Archæol. Assoc.*, vol. iv. p. 389.) Also, several other rings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, chiefly found in Norfolk, including two decade-rings of the latter period, bearing the monogram IHS, one found in Norwich castle, the other at Heigham.

*Matrices of Seals.* 1. A circular leaden matrix, ✠ s' HVGONIS F' TOME: the central device appears to have been a kind of flower of four leaves, date xiiiith century. Found at Wisbeach. This seal is supposed to have belonged to Hugh, son of Thomas de Dodenesh, who gave lands in the parish of Bergholt, Suffolk, to the priory of Dodenash, in 23 Hen. III. 1238-9. 2. A circular leaden matrix of the same age. ✠ SIGILLVM ALICIE. Device, four leaves, arranged so as to form a cross. 3. A circular leaden matrix of the same period, of rude design, engraved on both sides. One face inscribed ✠ sig': WIL' FILII: RIC'. (seal of William Fitz Richard,) the other, ✠ sig' WIFLILIID (?) or FLILNO'. Found at East Dereham. Possibly the seal of William de Belmont, 5 Edw. I. 4. A valuable example of the

<sup>a</sup> See representations of both these rings, *Archæol. Journal*, vol. v. p. 64.

privy seals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, formed of antique gems set in silver, the verge inscribed. It is of pointed oval form, the gem is a blood-stone, the device, a sea-horse. ✠ SIGILL' GILBERTI DE HVLCOYE. Gilbert de Hulcote was sheriff of Norfolk, c. 1220. Found under the walls of Norwich castle, in 1821, with the beautiful gold ring, (No. 1,) above inscribed. 5. A small seal with a ludicrous or satirical device, a hare mounted on a hound, and blowing a horn. Motto—SOHOV ROHEN. These grotesques were in vogue as early as the reign of Edward I. a similar seal being appended to a deed in Mr. Hudson Turner's possession, dated 28 Edw. I. 1299. Another example is supplied by a deed dated 12 Edw. III., 1339. 6, 7. Love seals, the customary device being a male and a female head, *confrontées*, \* LOVE ME ANDE I YE—ZE—OR PE. An impression from one of these little matrices is appended to a deed in the muniment room of the corporation of Norwich, sealed A.D. 1342. 8. A specimen of the grotesque devices commonly used in the fourteenth century, a falcon or eagle pouncing on a bird, with the legend—\* ALAS IE SV PRIS. It is found on seals attached to deeds in Mr. Hudson Turner's possession, dated 1391 and 1395°. 9. Personal seal of the close of the fourteenth century; the device a buck's head cabossed, with a lion's face between the horns. It bears also the symbol of the crescent and star. Legend—TIMETE DEVM ET O'IBVS SCIS EIVS. 10. A seal of the same date, device a stag couchant, or pierced: ALAS BOWELES. Found at Bramford, Suffolk. 11. An interesting seal of very peculiar design; in the centre is seen the ox, St. Luke's symbol, the owner of the seal having been born on St. Luke's day, as recorded in the legend—\* s' W FIL W NATVS DIE SO'I LV. 12. A privy-seal, device a lion couchant in a compartment formed by two interlaced squares, LEGE REGE. 13. A very curious matrix formed of iron, silvered, the seal of the abbot of Langley, in Norfolk, who is portrayed kneeling before the Virgin. A representation of this valuable seal, formerly in the possession of Sir Francis Freeling, Bart., is given in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. p. 618. 14. A silver matrix, the seal of the deanery of Hingham, in Norfolk. The device is uncommon, a saltire raguly;—*Sigillu. Decanatus: De. hingham. xvth century.* (see cuts.) 15. A silver matrix, xvth century, the device is a shield charged with a lion rampant—\* s' IOHANNIS DE CAMERA. 16. A brass seal of the same age; in the centre the initial W. with the motto \* God \* help. 17. A silver seal of the sixteenth century: device, a swan with wings closed, between the initials F. H., and above is a merchant's mark, or personal monogram.—*Mr. Fitch, F.G.S., Norwich.*

Leaden *bullæ* of Pope Innocent IV., A.D. 1242—1254, found at Castle Acre.—*Mr. Goddard Johnson.*

A remarkable gold ring, formerly enamelled, the facet engraved with a representation of St. George, of the most delicate workmanship. Date, about the reign of Henry VI., found in the Little Park at Windsor, below the terrace. *Archæologia*, vol. xii. p. 411.—*Mr. Ashhurst Majendie, Castle Hedingham.*

Four ancient rings, one of silver and elegantly chased, and set with an intaglio, a head of Hercules on cornelian, probably of *cinq-vente* work: a betrothal ring of gold, formerly enamelled, on the facet appear two heads, male and female, looking towards each other; within is engraved the device of two hands clasping a heart: a brass ring of good design, originally set with four stones, found near St. Giles' Gate, Norwich; and a small gold posy ring, once enamelled on the outside with roses, acorns, and flowers, on the inner side is engraved the motto: "I dare not show . the loue I owe." Date about 1630.—*Mr. W. B. Bensley.*

\* A similar seal, found on Barnet Field, is in the collection of the St. Alban's Architectural Society.



A silver ring, parcel-gilt, found in the Close, Norwich, the facet engraved with figures of St. John the Evangelist and St. Barbara.—*The Rev. G. Pearce.*

Matrix of a seal, found in Yaxham churchyard, Norfolk, bearing the figure of St. Laurence. Impression of the common seal of Mendham priory, Suffolk, appended to an indenture of the manumission of a villain, 9 Edw. III. 1334. Seal of the prior and chapter of Norwich cathedral, appended to a deed dated 1385.—*Mr. George Carthew.*

Seven drawings of conventual seals, from the Macro collection, comprising some rare examples.—*The Rev. Joseph Hunter.*

#### ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AND AUTOGRAPHS, &c.

Four Anglo-Saxon charters, formerly belonging to the abbey of Hyde, near Winchester, and now preserved in the muniment room of Winchester college.

1. A grant from Edward the Elder, to the abbey of Hyde, of a farm at Micheldever in Hampshire. Dated A.D. 900. 2. A grant, with the consent of King Athelstan, of twenty carrucates of land, at a place called Cyseldene, and of eighty gold mancuses, from Alfred, the king's servant, to the abbey of Hyde. Not dated. 3. A grant from Edmund the Elder of thirty manses, at a place called "Pevesige," to the same abbey. A.D. 940. 4. A grant of King Canute, by which he restores to the abbey of Hyde a farm containing five cassates, at a place called Drægtun, which the king had previously granted to an inhabitant of Winchester, not named, who had persuaded him by falsehoods that the farm was royal property. A.D. 1019. Also a grant from Ilbert de Lacy to the abbey of le Mont de St. Catherine, near Rouen, of a mansion and of the tithes of Freteville. This grant is confirmed by the sign manual of William the Conqueror, and that of the granter, whose seal also is appended. *Exhibited, with the permission of the Warden of Winchester College, by Rev. W. H. Gunner.*

Several very interesting documents from the muniments of Sir Thomas Hare, Bart. The mortuary roll of John Wygenhale, abbot of West Dereham, Norfolk, of which a full account and representations are given in this volume, p. 99. The register of the Cistercian abbey of Marham, founded by Isabella, relict of Hugh, earl of Arundel, A.D. 1249: it is a folio volume, in the original oaken boards, covered with red sheepskin<sup>p</sup>. An illuminated roll of lands and tenants of the manor of Marham, Norfolk, t. Hen. III. or Edw. I., with the bearings of William Belet, (arg. on a chief gu. two crescents or,) of a second William Belet, differenced by cinqufoils on the chief in place of crescents; the arms of Marham abbey (checky az. and or) and those of Hugo de Schuldham, (az. an eagle displayed or.) The subsidy roll, or survey of Lynn Regis, about the year 1275, 3 Edw. I., giving a valuation of effects of each individual; a return which supplies much valuable statistical information, prices of merchandise<sup>q</sup>, &c.—*The Rev. George Dashwood.*

Deed of admission of Sir Robert Strelley and Dame Joan his wife into the fraternity of the Friars Minors; dated A.D. 1427. Two MS. perpetual almanacs, of the fifteenth century, one of them formerly belonging to Walter Elvedon, Fellow of Gonville Hall, Cambridge. Also, an almanac printed on vellum, adapted to the year 1537, "A coronacione regis xlvii."—*Mr. John Bowyer Nichols, F.S.A.*

<sup>p</sup> The following entry records the foundation:—"Dedicacio loci monasterii monialium B. Marie de M. facta est per Ricardum Dei gracia Cist'cen' Ep'm. (Cicestrensem) vj. kall' febr.

A.D. 1249."

<sup>q</sup> The occurrence of *mola manuales*, querns? in a large number of the houses in Lynn deserves notice. Price, about 12*d*.



An almanac, with a sun-dial and compass.—*Mr. W. S. Wilson, Norwich.*

A papal bull, dated 1503, being a dispensation with respect to a marriage contract, between William Skevyngton and Anne Dyghy, granted by Pope Julius II. Also, an exemplification of a recovery of lands in Ely; under the seal of the Liberty of the Isle of Ely, dated 24 Feb., 5 Edward VI.—*Mr. Seth W. Stevenson, F.S.A.*

Autograph of Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, a very singular letter, written from the Hague May 4, (*circa* 1630,) to Sir Jacob Astley, addressing him as “honest little Jacob,” and desiring him “like a little ape” to “skipp over quicklie.” Also a letter from Charles I. to Sir Jacob Astley, dated Oxford, Dec. 13, 1643, requesting him to pacify the garrison of “Ashpernham,” of the wants and distress of which, for lack of pay, he had received an account.—*The Right Hon. Lord Hastings.*

Letter from Queen Elizabeth to Lady Paget: printed in Miss Strickland’s life of that queen.—*Mr. Robert Hansell.*

A curious series of royal autographs, from the rich collection of Dawson Turner, Esq., comprising the signatures of Henry VIII., Dec. 6, *ann.* 38; “Mary the quene,” an order to Lord North and Sir Giles Alington to make levies in Cambridgeshire for the relief of Calais; James I., 31 May, *ann.* 16, a license for the Lord North to travel for 3 years with 6 servants, and to carry out £100 in money: Charles, Prince of Wales, 1620, a privy seal for £2000 to Lord Purbeck: William III., letter in French to the Lady Rachel Russel, on the death of the duke of Bedford, 1700. Queen Anne, warrant for £50 *per ann.* for a chaplain resident at Albany, New York. George I., appointment of Lord Malpas as governor of Chester. Letters from George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria. Also a letter signed by Louis XVI., dated from St. Cloud, 1790.—*Dawson Turner, Esq., F.S.A.*

A letter from Charles I. to Lord Ormond, requesting aid and co-operation with Lord Antrim in Ireland. Dated from Oxford, 12 March, 1643. A letter from Gay, dated April 23, 1713, with Pope’s poem of “Windsor Forest,” and remarks on the tragedy of “Cato.” Letter from George Vertue, dated July 29, 1732, addressed to Maurice Johnson, Jun., Esq., Spalding, with a sketch of a head of Friar Bacon at Knowl, which he was about to engrave. Letter from Stukeley, dated Sept. 3, 1753, giving an account of certain coins of Carausius, and of the progress of his history.—*Seth W. Stevenson, Esq., F.S.A.*

Lease of the dissolved college of Rushford, near Thetford, Norfolk, granted by Queen Elizabeth to Robert Buxton, Esq., in compensation for his having suffered three years’ imprisonment in the Tower, on suspicion of having assisted in the duke of Norfolk’s conspiracy for the escape of Mary, Queen of Scots, 22 Eliz. A.D. 1580. The great seal is appended to this document. A license of alienation of the dissolved college of Rushford, granted by Thomas, Lord Howard de Walden, to Robert Buxton, Esq., 43 Eliz. A.D. 1601. Lease of the college of Rushford, by Philip, earl of Arundel, William Dyx and William Cantrelle, 24 June, 22 Eliz., with their seals appended. From the muniments at Shadwell Park.—*Sir Robert Buxton, Bart., and Lady Buxton.*

#### COINS AND MEDALS.

side w.

dare not<sup>t</sup>. Roman coins, found in ploughed land near Shadwell Park, after a high  
had dispersed the light soil on the surface. Roman coins are fre-

• A similar sea, in the neighbourhood after storms.—*Sir Robert Buxton, Bart.*  
Society.

Six Roman coins, found at Burgh castle.—*The Rev. Henry Mackenzie.*

Four *aurei*, and ten silver Roman coins, found in a small vase at Carlton, in 1807. The former are coins of Gratian, Maximus, and Honorius; the silver include Julianus, A.D. 361, Valentinian, Gratian, Maximus, Arcadius, and Honorius, A.D. 395, the latest of the series. Also large brass coins of Hadrian and Aurelius, and a collection discovered at Brettenham, Norfolk.—*Sir Thomas Beauchamp Proctor, Bart.*

A spurious coin of Pescennius Niger, found in ploughing on the estates of the earl of Chichester, in Sussex. Also a large brass coin of Posthumus, found at Doncaster, and a coin of Agrippina, found near Brighton.—*Rev. J. Hamilton Gray.*

A crown piece, struck at Oxford, in 1644, commonly called the "Oxford crown."—*The Right Hon. Lord Hastings.*

A Newark siege-piece, struck during the civil wars in 1646.—*Mr. T. Addison.*

A silver medal, struck on the restoration of Charles II., and a medal, commemorative of the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, affixed to a tobacco-stopper. See notices of Sir Edmund's death, and various relics connected with that period of popular commotion, *Gent. Mag.*, vol. xxx. p. 483.—*Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A.*

#### SPECIMENS OF MEDIEVAL POTTERY.

A very curious specimen of English pottery, of the seventeenth century. It is a large round dish, or charger, of red clay, with ornaments in relief, and coloured with yellow and red slip. It bears the royal arms, the initials C. R., and the name of THOMAS TOFT, who was one of the sheriffs of Norwich, 1643, and mayor of Norwich in 1654. Diameter of the dish, 19½ in. Also a curious specimen of glazed stone ware, of a mottled-brown colour, probably of German fabrication. It bears the date 1585, and initials I. E. Also a fine charger, or large round dish, of Dutch Delft ware. It exhibits the figure apparently of Charles I. under an arch, and may have been made in memory of that sovereign, but bears the date 1657. The principal subject of the decoration is slightly tinted with yellow and purple colour. Diameter 16½ in. Three specimens of English stone ware, supposed to be manufactured in Staffordshire, with blue and purple glazes. One exhibits a medallion portrait of Mary II., the others bear the initials G. R., probably George I.—*The Right Hon. Lord Stafford.*

A choice specimen of Majolica, a fruit dish, with the metallic glaze, decorated with a subject after Giulio Romano. It was formerly in the possession of the distinguished collector, Lasinio, of Lucca.—*Dawson Turner, Esq., F.S.A.*

A small bottle, of curious dark green glazed ware, supposed to be of medieval fabrication, found in a clay-pit at Morley, in Norfolk, 1843.—*Sir John Boileau, Bart.*

A curious specimen of medieval ware, with dark green metallic glaze; supposed to be of the early part of the fifteenth century. Found in digging the foundations of the yarn factory, St. Martin's, Norwich. Also another vessel of similar ware, found in digging in the market place.—*Mr. Robert Fitch, F.G.S.*

Two small jugs, of coarse medieval ware, found in Cambridge.—*Mr. I. Deck.*

A specimen of white stone ware, probably of German fabrication; date, about 1580. Found at Barsham, Suffolk.—*Mr. Spurdens.*

Figures modelled in coarse white glazed ware, found in railway cuttings, near Norwich; date about 1650.—*The Rev. John Gunn, Irstead.*

Drawings representing three bottles of brown stone ware, called Bellarmines, or "grey beards," from the bearded heads ornamenting the neck. Found in a marsh on the banks of the river Arun, at Greatham, Sussex. Representation of a like vessel, found at Barlings abbey, near Lincoln. They are probably of German fabrication.—*Rev. G. Gaunt, Isfield.*

#### RELICS OF NELSON.

The following authentic and interesting relics of one of the greatest of Norfolk worthies, although not of an antiquarian character, cannot be regarded as inadmissible in this collection. Nelson, it will be remembered, was son of the Rector of Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk, and was born at that place, 29 September, 1758.

An epaulette, from Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson's naval uniform, and his red ribbon of the Order of the Bath. These two decorations, formerly worn by him, were purchased for Mr. Stevenson, by the late Mr. David Irwin, of Thomas Allen, Lord Nelson's coxswain and servant, Nov. 29, 1823.—*Mr. Seth W. Stevenson, F.S.A.*

The silver studs, taken from the sleeves of the shirt worn by Nelson, shortly after the mortal wound had been received by him, Oct. 21, 1805, on board the Victory. They were taken by Boatswain Bussey, and given by his grandchild to Mr. James Mills, Febr. 1847.—*Exhibited by Mr. James Mills, of Norwich.*

Three drinking cups, specimens of painted African ware, ornamented with red and black, brought from Fez.—*Lieut. Beauchamp, R.N.*

A fragment of Oriental marqueterie, part of a large wooden japanned dish, inlaid with mother of pearl, &c. It was found on the site of the manor-house of Semeres in Blo Norton, Norfolk, burned before the year 1583.—*Mr. Carthew.*

A circular Indian buckler of buffalo-hide, japanned or painted of a black colour, the face highly polished, and ornamented with four large brass bosses. Compare the specimen from Hindustan, Goodrich Court Armory, Skelton, vol. ii. pl. 137.—*Mr. Ashhurst Majendie, Castle Hedingham.*

An Affghan dagger.—*The Rev. Neville Rolfe.*

A wooden tankard, japanned, apparently of Chinese workmanship, in imitation of an English model.—*Mr. Edward Coppin.*

A Chinese cup, formed of the horn of the rhinoceros, curiously sculptured. It is supposed in the East to be endued with certain preservative or medicinal properties.—*Mr. J. Mills.*

A Caribb hatchet, of dark green sandstone, of singular form; found on a mountain in the Island of Grenada.

A vase of Mexican fictile manufacture, painted with lions and other ornaments.—*Mr. John Norgate.*

#### NOTE ON THE ASTLEY BOOK

##### IN THE POSSESSION OF THE RIGHT HON. LORD HASTINGS.

Amongst the treasures of antiquity and art, preserved at Melton Constable, from which the Lord Hastings, with the greatest liberality, permitted free selection to be made, and largely contributed to the interest of the museum, the

"Astley Book" has appeared too important to be merely noticed in the concise terms of the forgoing inventory. This valuable volume, the table book of the accomplished English gentleman of the times of Henry VI., comprises subjects of a very miscellaneous character, being those most popular or interesting at the period, and most consonant with the spirit of the age.

At the commencement of the volume appears an illuminated drawing, which represents a joust at the barriers in presence of a French queen or princess, attended by her courtiers. One of the knights bears the red cross of St. George upon his shield, and on his helm is a singular crest,—three damsels in a basket. The other knight has a plain azure shield; his crest is a bird with a human female head, ducally gorged and crowned or.

Then commences the curious directions, entitled—"Abilment for the Justus of the Pees," namely the peacable jousts, already known to antiquaries by Mr. Douce's memoir in the *Archæologia*, vol. xvii., p. 291; and Sir Samuel Meyrick's comments upon it in his *Critical Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 188. (new edit.) This interesting document, as found in the Astley Book, presents some variations worthy of notice, and it has been printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iv. p. 226.

We next find a "memoriale de expensis diurnis," a ready reckoner and tables to convert marks into pounds sterling, &c.

Weights and measures. English terms relative to matters of that nature.

A poem on the coronation of Henry VI., commencing,—

"Holde up oure yonge Kynge, Ave benigna,  
And send us pees in our londe, Ave regina."

"The manner and forme of the coronacioun of Kyngis and Queenes in Eng-  
lond."

The coronation feast of Henry VI., a very curious bill of fare, already more than once printed, but the transcript here found varies from any published text.

An English version of Vegetius, translated at the desire of Sir Thomas de Berkeley, "to gret disporte and daliaunce of lordes and alle worthie werreoures that ben apassid alle laboure and traueling." The translator completed his task on the eve of All Hallows, 1408, 10 Hen. IV. Numerous MSS. of this popular work are preserved in the British Museum, and other collections.

The initials and bordures are richly illuminated. At the foot of the first page is a scutcheon of the arms of Astley and Harcourt, quarterly, with a label of three points, over all, erminois.

The curious formula, "How a man schalle be armyd at his ese, when he schal fighte on foote," given, with the accompanying illustration, representing the process of arming, in *Archæol. Journal*, vol. iv. p. 227.

The epistle from Thomas, duke of Gloucester, to Richard II., concerning jousts and tournaments.

A very curious manual of instructions for pilotage, around the English coasts: commencing,—*"Berwik lieth southe and northe of golde stones."* An illuminated page presents a view of a channel near a rocky shore, with large ships at anchor and sailing. At the foot of the first page are the same arms, before described. At the close, another illumination, a large three-masted ship, the crew hold white shields charged with a red cross.

Poem on the deeds of Alexander the Great, translated from the French of Philip Arisée, partly by Lydgate, and completed after his death by another hand.

"How knyghtis of the Bathe shulde be made." This very curious ceremonial has been printed in *Archæol. Journal*, vol. v. p. 258.

"The Pistille of Othea the Goddesse, the whiche sent it to Hector," &c., illustrated by numerous interesting illuminations. On one page occurs a scutcheon of these arms,—sable, two lions rampant confrontés, or. On the margin of the last page are the arms of Astley and Harcourt, as before, with helm and lambrequins; the crest a bird with female head, and ducally gorged and chained (resembling a crest before mentioned) here seen surrounded by large rays issuant from a ducal crown, by which the helm is surmounted<sup>1</sup>.

Two most interesting drawings, one of them representing the celebrated combat between John Astley, and "Peiere de Masse, squier of the reem of Frauns born;" accomplished at Paris in the Rue St. Antoine, on Aug. 29, 1438, in presence of Charles VII. Dugdale, in his *History of Warwickshire*, cites M. de Wulson's relation of this notable achievement as given in his "*Theatre d'honneur*." The second drawing exhibits the combat between John Astley and Sir Philip Boyle, knt., "of the rem de Aragon," which took place Jan. 30, 1442, in Smithfield, before Henry VI. Dugdale has given a series of subjects, representing the first mentioned deed of arms, but wholly dissimilar to the drawing in Lord Hastings' MS.\*

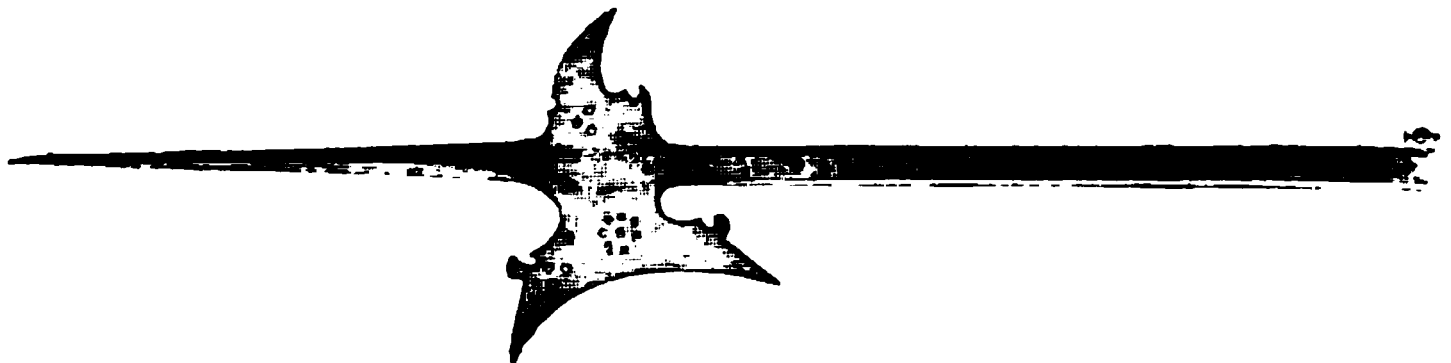
Then follows the oath of the Herald, written seemingly at a later period than the rest of the volume; certain curious prognostications, taken from thunder at various seasons of the year; a calendar, tables of the influence of the signs of the Zodiac; the volume closes with a poem in English, commencing,—

"When I advertise in my remembrance,  
And se how felle folke erren grevosly."

This remarkable volume has an impressed binding, of the earlier part of the seventeenth century, upon which appears the motto, ICH DIEN, with a circle of rays surrounding a central compartment, from which some ornament, probably the triple plume, has been removed. This device would lead us to believe that the book had passed into the possession of the gallant Henry, Prince of Wales, son of James I.<sup>4</sup>

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THE accompanying woodcut represents the interesting halbard, exhibited by Sir John Boileau, Bart., with numerous precious and attractive objects kindly



contributed from his collections at Ketteringham. It claims notice as a relic of the defeat of the duke of Burgundy by the Swiss patriots, on the shores of the lake of Morat, in which it was found, and as an early example of a weapon which long after was almost characteristic of the Switzers.

<sup>1</sup> This poem does not appear to be complete. Is it from the French original by Alain Chartier?

\* Paintings representing the deeds of Sir John Astley, are preserved at Arbury, Warwickshire,

and Pottesbull, Salop, as also, it is stated, at Everleigh, Wilts.

<sup>4</sup> See a few other particulars regarding this MS. in *Archæol. Journal*, vol. iv. pp. 227, 228, note.

# NOTICES OF THE ROMAN CAMP AT CAISTOR, OF ANCIENT NORWICH, ITS CASTLE, AND THE VENTA ICENORUM.

[Communicated in a letter addressed to DAWSON TURNER, Esq.,  
by HUDSON GURNEY, Esq.\*]

DEAR DAWSON,

In the year 1834, there was much discussion respecting the restoration of the external coating of Norwich castle, which had fallen into a state of great decay, and Mr. Gurdon allowed me to have his ancestor's "Essay on the Antiquity of the Castle of Norwich," published in 1728, printed for private circulation.

In 1835, Mr. William Herring, who was in possession of one of the dispersed volumes of Mr. John Kirkpatrick's collections, which were left by him to the corporation of Norwich, permitted my having Mr. Kirkpatrick's "Notes concerning Norwich Castle," composed about the year 1725, copied for the purpose of being likewise printed.

I gave away some of the copies, but retained the rest, in the intention of prefixing an introduction, which I have never completed, and which, in the present state of my health, and from many of my books being in London, I am unable to put together.

But, as the Archæological Institute are about to meet at Norwich, I will endeavour, through your intermediation, to get the few following notices placed in their hands, which may be useful in any researches they may make when viewing the localities.

The first question to examine on the view of Norwich, Norwich castle, and the Roman camp at Caistor—may be whether Norwich or Caistor be the "Venta Icenorum" of the Romans; Norwich standing on the Wensum, and Caistor on the Taes, on the opposite side of what was the great æstuary.

\* This communication was read at the evening Meeting on July 29; and copies, which, by Mr. Gurney's kindness, had been printed specially for the oc-

casion, were presented to the members of the Institute, and visitors attending the Annual Meeting.

## CAMDEN.

To begin then with Camden. In his accounts of Norwich and of Caistor, he falls into the most extraordinary errors, confounding the courses of the three rivers, the Wensum, the Taes, and the Yare. He places Norwich upon the Yare instead of the Wensum, and gives the Wensum the course of the Taes, as "flowing from the south;" and, still more strangely as a king at arms, he attributes the erection of the present castle of Norwich to Hugh Bigod, from "the lions salient carved in stone in it, which were the old arms of the Bigods on their seals, though one of them bore a cross for his seal<sup>b</sup>."

Now the lions were two lions passant regardant, very rudely carved, one on each side of the arch of the great entrance: and the Bigods, whose original arms were, Or, a cross gules, never bore the lion till assumed by Roger Bigod in the reign of Henry III., who took the arms of his mother, the heiress of William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, in whose right he became Earl Marshal of England.

## HORSLEY.

Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, states that Venta was the capital of the Iceni, situated on the "Wentfar," and thence deriving its name; and misled by, and quoting, Camden, he places Venta at Caistor<sup>c</sup>.

## SPELMAN.

Sir Henry Spelman, in his *Icenia*, states Norwich to have been the capital of the Iceni, in British *Caer-Guntum*, or *Caer Gwynt*, situated on the Wensum; the Saxons using the *w* in the word which the Romans turned into "Venta;" but whether Norwich were the *Venta Icenorum* he leaves in doubt.

<sup>b</sup> Camden's *Britannia*, by Gough, vol. ii. p. 177, edit. 1806. Mr. Wilkins has given a representation of one of these lions, *Archæologia*, vol. xii. pl. xxvi. p. 162.

<sup>c</sup> *Essay on Antonine's Itinerary*, p. 443. Horsley considered the "*Venta Simenorum*" of Ptolemy to be the same as the "*Venta Icenorum*" of the *Itinerary*. *Britann. Rom.*, p. 378.



## KING.

King, who, born in Norwich, might have been supposed to have been better informed, in his *Munimenta Antiqua* follows Camden, and turns the Taes into the Wensum; and, in his paper in the fourth volume of the *Archæologia*, he pronounces the existing castle of Norwich to be “the very tower which was erected about the time of King Canute.”

## WILKINS.

In the elaborate “Essay towards the history of the Venta Icenorum and of Norwich Castle,” by the elder Mr. Wilkins, in the twelfth volume of the *Archæologia*, he follows the authority of Camden in supposing Caistor to be Venta, and gives a very beautiful drawing of the tower over the entrance of Norwich castle; which, still following the authority of Camden, he says, “I have ventured to call Bigod’s Tower<sup>d</sup>.” This was the origin of a name which had no other foundation than Camden’s story of the lions; and which the late Mr. Wilkins, R.A., who added the new buildings in 1824, and most accurately examined the castle, said, his father had been led into, by an endeavour to reconcile, if possible, the tradition of a restoration by one of the Bigods, with his own conviction as to the period of its erection. And Mr. Wilkins the younger also wrote to me, that the same principle obtained in all the castles of the same era, “of outside stairs abutting against a tower, which has an opening opposite, and commanding the approach, both from the gallery of the tower and the roof of it, which is much lower than the keep itself, for this purpose.”

## COLONEL LEAKE.

In 1834 I went over the camp at Caistor, and the country adjacent, with Colonel Leake, who may be considered the greatest living authority for the sites of ancient cities and fortified camps; and he at once said that he was convinced

<sup>d</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xii. p. 162, pl. xxvi.



Norwich was the Venta Icenorum, and capital of the Iceni, and Caistor the fortified camp planted by the Romans over against it, on the other side of the æstuary, to bridle, as was their custom, a hostile population.

Colonel Leake has since written me the following note, which he has allowed me to use.

#### “ VENTA ICENORUM.

“In September 1834, I visited in company with Mr. Gurney the ruins of an extensive Roman fortress in a well-watered valley three miles to the south of Norwich. Caistor, the name of the parish in which the ruins are situated, is a word Anglicized from the Roman Castrum: Venta, on the contrary, is Latinized from the British Gwent. At Winchester (Venta Belgarum) and at Caerwent (Venta Silurum) it is not unlikely that the Roman fortifications may have been on the site or a part of the site of the British town, and then the Roman and the British site may have become identified. But this was not the case among the Iceni. Here are two sites: Caistor was evidently nothing else than a castrum stativum or fortress, such as the Romans usually erected after conquest for the use of their garrison and colony, and who often chose a situation abounding in good water, in preference to one of natural strength, relying for protection on their walls and military discipline. If Caistor was nothing more than a castrum Romanum, Norwich was in all probability Venta, being a position marked by nature for the stronghold of a people less advanced in the art of war than the Romans, and such as the Greeks, and most other people, have generally chosen in the infancy of civilization.

“I find nothing contrary to this opinion in any ancient authority.”

In the Roman Itineraries you have three Ventas,—Venta Belgarum, Winchester; Venta Silurum, Caer-Went, in Monmouthshire; and Venta Icenorum; and of these Ventas, the confusion between Winchester, and the Venta Icenorum, seems to have begun very early, both with the chroniclers and romancers, probably from the one having retained the rudiments of the name, and the other becoming known as Northwic.

#### PALGRAVE.

Sir Francis Palgrave, in the researches which he has made for his forthcoming History of England under the Normans, being led to the examination of all contemporary authors, in

order to clear up points which he found otherwise inexplicable, has referred me to the two following passages, which would seem to prove that Norwich was the *Venta Icenorum*, almost beyond dispute.

#### WILLIAM OF POICTIERS.

William of Poitiers, chaplain to William the Conqueror, and attending him in many of his expeditions, says in his “*Life of the Conqueror*,” in relating his return to Normandy in 1067—

“*Gventa urbs est nobilis atque valens, cives ac finitimos habet divites, infidos, et audaces : Danos in auxilium citius recipere potest : a mari, quod Anglos a Danis separat, millia passuum quatuor-decim distat. Hujus quoque urbis intra moenia munitionem construxit ; ibidem Guillelmum reliquit Osberni filium, præcipuum in exercitu suo, ut in vice sua interim toti regno AQUILONEM versus præesset*.”

#### ORDERICUS VITALIS.

Ordericus Vitalis, also a contemporary, and born in England, under the year 1067, states :—

“*Intra moenia Guentæ, opibus et munimine nobilis urbis et mari contiguæ, validam arcem construxit, ibique Guillelmum Osberni filium in exercitu suo præcipuum reliquit, eumque vice sua toti regno versus AQUILONEM præesse constituit*.”

Now William, on his return to Normandy in 1067, left the wardenship of the whole country to the South to his half brother Odo, in whose division, it should appear, Winchester must have lain ; and the description of the “*Guenta*” committed to William Fitzosbern, tallying in every point with the position of Norwich, seems in every way totally inapplicable to that of Winchester.

Taking therefore Norwich as the *Guenta*, or *Venta*, where William constructed his fortifications, or perhaps only greatly strengthened those he found there, the next historical event

• *Guill. Pictav. Gesta Guillelmi Ducis ; Duchesne, Hist. Normann. Scriptores*, p. 208.

‘ *Ibid.*, p. 506.

we come to, is the rebellion, in 1074, of Ralph Guader earl of Norfolk, Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, Huntingdon and Northampton, and Roger, earl of Hereford, the son of William Fitzosbern, who had been killed in the wars of Flanders in 1070, which was planned in the castle of Norwich, at the marriage of Ralph Guader with Emma the daughter of William Fitzosbern, and sister of Roger, earl of Hereford. And we then find the castle so strong that it could not be taken by the king's forces,—that Ralph Guader escaped by sea to his castle of Guader in Brittany,—and that the Countess and her garrison were at last only driven to capitulate by famine, under a safe conduct for her and her adherents.

On the return of William from Normandy, he imprisoned earl Roger, who died in captivity; and also committed Waltheof and his wife Judith, the Conqueror's niece, to close custody. And here we come to some coincidences between Norwich and Winchester, so remarkable, that it may be difficult to determine in which the imprisonment and execution of Waltheof took place. Ordericus Vitalis states that Waltheof was imprisoned "*apud Guentam in carcere Regis*," that the Normans greatly feared his escape, and that he was taken out to execution in the morning, whilst the inhabitants were still sleeping, "*extra urbem Guentam*," to a hill over against it where the church of St. Giles "*nunc—constructa est*."

This perfectly answers to the position of our St. Giles's, out of the then city inhabited by the English, on a rising ground by the new borough inhabited by the French, and where the church of St. Giles appears to have been built in the time of the Conqueror.

After the execution, the body of Waltheof was buried in the crossways on the hill of St. Giles; but was afterwards transferred to Croyland, where it was deposited in a tomb near the high altar, and wrought many miracles. On the whole, however, I should think that the probability may be, that the execution of Waltheof took place at Winchester.

On the accession of William Rufus, the castle of Norwich was seized by Roger Bigod, and for some time held by him for Robert Curthose.

Knighton, in his Chronicle, mentions the castle of Norwich amongst the many castles which he enumerates as having

\* Order. Vit. Duchesne, Hist. Normann. Script., p. 536.

been built by William Rufus<sup>b</sup>. And, as the works must have been much damaged by the preceding sieges, it appears most likely that the present keep, of the same stone and of the same style of architecture with the cathedral, was built by him, and then received its Norman name of Blanchefleur.

Taking, then, Norwich for the Venta Icenorum of the Romans,—called *Caer-Guntum* by the British, and *Northwic* by the Saxons and Danes,—you find the capital of the Iceni founded on the shoulder of the promontory overlooking the Wensum, towards the great æstuary, which formed a natural stronghold for successive races of inhabitants.

Whilst the Romans, fixing their permanent camp at Caistor on the Taes, where that river joined the æstuary into which the Wensum, the Taes, and the Yare all discharged themselves, would command the passage into the interior of the country—and taking Caistor for the “*Ad Taum*,” you will find the distances sufficiently to agree with the Roman itineraries.

The camp at Caistor contains an area of about thirty-five acres; and the Roman station at Taesborough, on another promontory higher up upon the stream, has an area of about twenty-four acres.

The great inundations which altered the form of the coast, appear to have taken place in the centuries preceding and immediately following the Conquest; there appear no historical data as to the progress of the silting up of the rivers.

The almost entire destruction of all documents relating to the kingdom of the East Angles, probably through the irruptions of the Danes, leaves us less acquainted with this, than with any other kingdom of the Saxon heptarchy.

But, supposing Norwich to be the Venta, the capital of the Iceni, you get an indication of a continuous story, which, true or false, brings together most of the various traditions.

You have the castle founded by Gurgunt, the grandson of Malmutius Dunwallo, who is said to have died in the year 336 before the Christian era. You find Boadicea issuing from the capital of the Iceni, slaughtering 70,000 of the Romans and their allies, and overrunning the whole country, till she was finally vanquished, on her march against the other Venta, Winchester.

<sup>b</sup> Twysden, *Hist. Anglic. Scriptores* X. col. 2373.

Norwich is stated to have been the residence of Uffa, A.D. 575,—Anna, king of the East Angles, to have had the castle in 642,—lands granted to the monastery of Ely by Etheldreda, the widow of Tombert, held by service of castle-guard of the castle of Norwich, about 677,—the castle repaired by Alfred, and granted by him to Guntrum,—destroyed by Swain in 1004, and rebuilt by Canute in 1017,—which brings you to the fortifications of William the Conqueror, and the probable construction of the present keep by William Rufus.

Norwich castle became a prison in the reign of Henry the Third; and, by the sheriff's report, the whole was greatly dilapidated in the reign of Edward the Third, when the defences were secured by the erection of the walls of the city.

For those visiting Caistor, the best position for seeing the whole course of the æstuary of the Yare, was from a spot on Merkeshall hills, where the old church of Merkeshall stood, but since covered by the plantations of the late Mr. Dashwood; as far, however, as I can judge from a distance, I think the works of the newly projected railroad, will have reopened the view.

Mr. Woodward's map of the Venta Icenorum gives all the localities<sup>1</sup>. But the clearest indication, beyond all compare, of the courses of the æstuary and the rivers, is in Mr. Woodward's map in his *Geology of Norfolk*, where the alluvial soil distinctly shews the access of the waters to the Roman camp on the Taes.

I am yours most truly,

HUDSON GURNEY.

Keswick, July 26th, 1847.

DAWSON TURNER, ESQ.

<sup>1</sup> Designed by the late S. Woodward in 1836. It forms the first illustration of the "History and Antiquities of Norwich Castle," edited by his son, and recently published: Norwich,

Charles Muskett, 4to. 1847. See also Mr. Woodward's Map of Roman Norfolk, and descriptive Outline of Roman remains in that County, *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 358, pl. xxxi.

## NOTICES OF THE ORIGINAL STRUCTURE OF THE ROMAN FORTIFICATIONS AT BRANCASTER, (THE ANCIENT BRANODUNUM,) NORFOLK.

THE antiquary of the present age enters the field of research at great comparative disadvantage with his predecessors on Roman ground. The lamentation of poetry is become sober prose, for in the days of Spelman and Horsley, many a wall was standing of which 'Ipsæ periere ruinæ' is all that can be truly said. If such has been the case with Brancaster, the subject of our present investigation, we may record with greater satisfaction every vestige of new discovery, in the hope that it may stand at least as a stepping-stone to plausible conjecture, if not as an ascertained fact.

The conquest of the Iceni by Ostorius, the general of Claudius, may be taken on the testimony of Tacitus, (Annal. xii. 31,) as a well accredited point of starting in the early history of our county. We may distinguish, with the same certainty as at Waterloo or Sobraon, the troops actually engaged, during the following reign. At the time of the insurrection of Boadicea, there were only four legions, exclusive of auxiliaries, in Britain;—the second, (or Legio Augusta,) the ninth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth, (or Valens Victrix.)

The results of the battle of Camelodunum met with a faithful chronicler, who tells us, that our British heroine destroyed the ninth<sup>a</sup>, and that in the second battle which followed, the commander of the Augusta Legio, Pænius Posthumus, put an end to his own existence, on arriving too late to share with the fourteenth and twentieth the glory of the day<sup>b</sup>. In the reign of Alexander Severus, some years after-

<sup>a</sup> Victor Britannus P. Ceriali, Legato Legionis nonæ, in subsidium adventanti obviæ, fudit legionem, et, quod peditum, interfecit. Cerialis cum equitibus evasit in castra et munimentis defensus est.—Annal., lib. xiv. cap. 32.

<sup>b</sup> Jam Suetonio quartadecima Legio cum vexillariis vicesimanis, et e proximis auxiliares, decem ferme millia armatorum erant: cum omittere cunctationem, et congregari acie parat. . . . Clara ac antiquis victoriis par ea die laus parta.

Quippe sunt, qui paulo minus quam octoginta millia Britannorum cecidisse tradant, militum quadringentis ferme interfectis, nec multo amplius vulneratis. Boadicea vitam veneno finivit. Et Pænius Posthumus, Præfectus castrorum secundæ legionis, cognitis quartadecimanorum vicesimanorumque prosperis rebus, quia pari gloria legionem suam fraudaverat, abnueratque, contra ritum militiæ, jussu ducis, seipsum gladio transegit.—Annal., lib. xiv. cap. 34—37.

wards, we have continuous events, but still the same legions, *Secunda Augusta*, and *Vicesima Victrix*; to which however the laborious historian, Dio Cassius, adds the sixth, then lately sent to replace the fourteenth. And it is observable, that the whole series of inscriptions discovered in this island confirms most remarkably the evidence of these two historians, Tacitus and Dio, not only as to the number, but also as to the identity of these legions<sup>c</sup>. There were never more than four, —seldom more than three,—at any given period in Britain. And it seems that the national defences were principally constructed by their hands; for in all the preserved inscriptions, which record any finished work of importance, we find (with scarcely an exception) the titles of the above named legionaries, and not those of the auxiliaries by which they were accompanied.

And this union of historical with archæological evidence, when viewed in combination with the absence of inscriptions in the eastern stations of England, prepares us to give credence to what we are told of Brancaster, viz., that it was not occupied by Legionaries, but that at this station the “Count of the Saxon Shore” had merely a garrison of Dalmatian horse, sufficient to resist the inroads of the later German invaders. Doubtless the maritime stations on the various estuaries of the Icenæ were subsequent to the walls of Richborough, or the fossways of the *Itinerarium*.

The identity of modern Brancaster with ancient *Branodunum* will not be disputed, though all distinct information concerning it begins and ends with the fifty-second section of the *Notitia*. The “*Notitia Imperii*,” so called, were certainly published subsequently to the year A.D. 425, being entitled “*Notitia utraque dignitatum cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honorique tempora.*” They are merely a dry catalogue of the distribution of the imperial officers, military as well as civil, throughout the Roman world. The “*Comes Littoris Saxonici*” occupies the fifty-second section. He had (it appears) under him *nine* subordinate officers, called *Præpositi*, one in Essex, five in Kent, one in Sussex, and two in our own county Norfolk, viz., at Brancaster and *Garrianonum*, garrisoned respectively with Dalmatian and Stablesian horse.

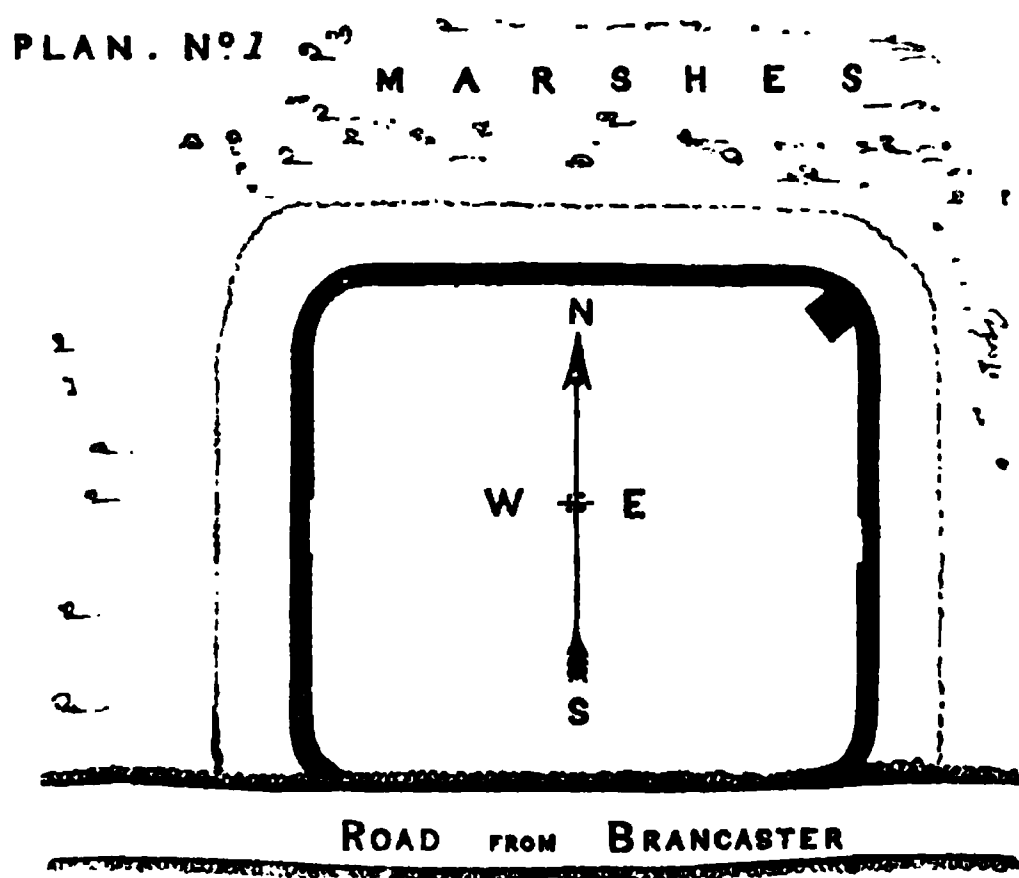
<sup>c</sup> This series is to be consulted nowhere to so much advantage as in the great work of Horsley, a reprint of which

would be an acquisition to the archæologist.



During the late excavations, the bones of the larger animals appeared in considerable quantity.

Before I attempt to describe the result of late researches at Branodunum, I shall just glance at the evidence of Sir Henry Spelman, about A.D. 1600. He says (Icenia,) "Branodunum vetus, hodie Brancaster, Romani castris vallum exhibet, ad mensuram a Cesare datum. (Bel. Gal. lib. 2.) Castra in altitudinem pedum xii. vallo, fossâque duodeviginti pedum munire jubet." Now, from this I infer, that Sir H. Spelman actually measured the ground, and that one portion of the wall at least was then standing to a height of twelve feet above the surface. Now, alas! "Seges est, ubi Troja fuit." "Tempus, edax rerum," has not only devoured the twelve feet of stone wall above ground, but rendered a continuous survey, of even the foundations, impossible. However the 'fossa' remains; and tells us that the camp was originally a square of 190 yards, exclusive of the corners, which were rounded.

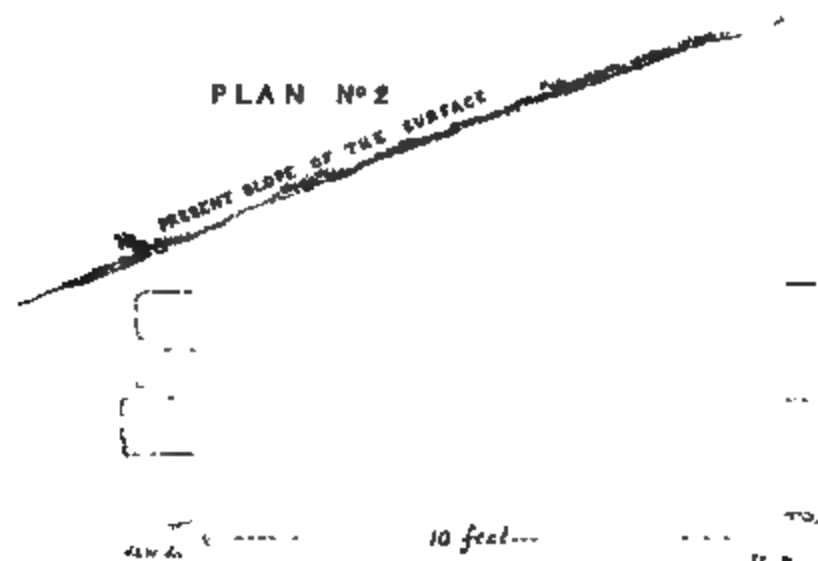


The east and west faces of the square, judging from the level of the ground, appear to have had in their centres the Porta Decumana and its corresponding gate opposite. The north face fronts the adjoining marshes at about 300 yards distance. The south is completely transformed and obliterated by a public road, with fences on each side of it.

In the autumn of last year (1846) an investigation of the remains was resolved upon; and a labourer was sent with an



iron crow to endeavour to strike upon the foundations, which it is known were broken up at great expense about fifty years ago, in the double view of clearing the ground for the plough, and getting materials to build a barn and other farming premises on the lands adjoining. Masonry was soon reported at the north-east corner of the camp; and the line of foundations, (see plan, No. 3,) as it appeared, having no definite direction, the spot was judged promising. A shaft was sunk, and a solid wall, having throughout a bonding-course of large white sandstone, (or as the labourers call it *sugar-stone*, said to come from a quarry about ten miles distant,) attracted attention. This shaft, being commenced on the ascent of the existing vallum, was sunk about eight feet from the surface before the bottom of the masonry was arrived at. It was then carried



horizontally, when it was found that the loose flint and sandy subsoil, falling away, left above them a flat face of fine mortar resembling a ceiling. It was imagined that a chamber existed which was filled up with sand and stones; and this idea was strengthened by observing the course of sandstones, which, being developed, had at that spot the appearance of a depressed arch. After two or three hours digging, the true nature of the wall and its composition was ascertained, as shewn in the above transverse section, (plan, No. 2.) Exclusive of the ashlar, which had been removed, it was ten feet in thickness. The fine grouted mortar had in it small fragments of brick, although no bricks were discovered in the masonry, nor any thing more than a few broken tiles and pottery in the soil. The coarse mortar had less brick in its

composition, as is customary. The sandstone was roughly squared to adapt it to its position in the wall.



In connexion with this wall smaller walls (see plan, No. 3,) were observed, which, whatever their intention may have been, were evidently coeval with the principal one, as they were constructed on a similar plan, and bonded to it at the angles<sup>a</sup>.

First, as to the main wall *ABCDE* it was eleven feet in thickness, faced on the exterior with wrought blocks of sandstone, which were firmly set in mortar with joints of three inches minimum thickness. The whole of the rounded angle was uncovered to secure a correct ground-plan, but this was made with difficulty, because at *B* the whole of the facing had been removed, which made it impossible to mark the exact spot where the curvature terminated. Between *c* and *D* there was one spot where five of the courses remained undisturbed. I have ventured therefore to replace them in the sectional plan, No. 4. Between *c* and *E* on the northern face of the encampment, six shafts were opened, at distances of about thirty

<sup>a</sup> The construction of these walls may be compared with the construction of those at Richborough, (King's Mun. Ant., vol. ii. p. 7,) or with the paper on Porchester Castle, in the "Proceedings of the

Institute at Winchester, 1845," in which the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne draws attention especially to the character of Roman masonry.

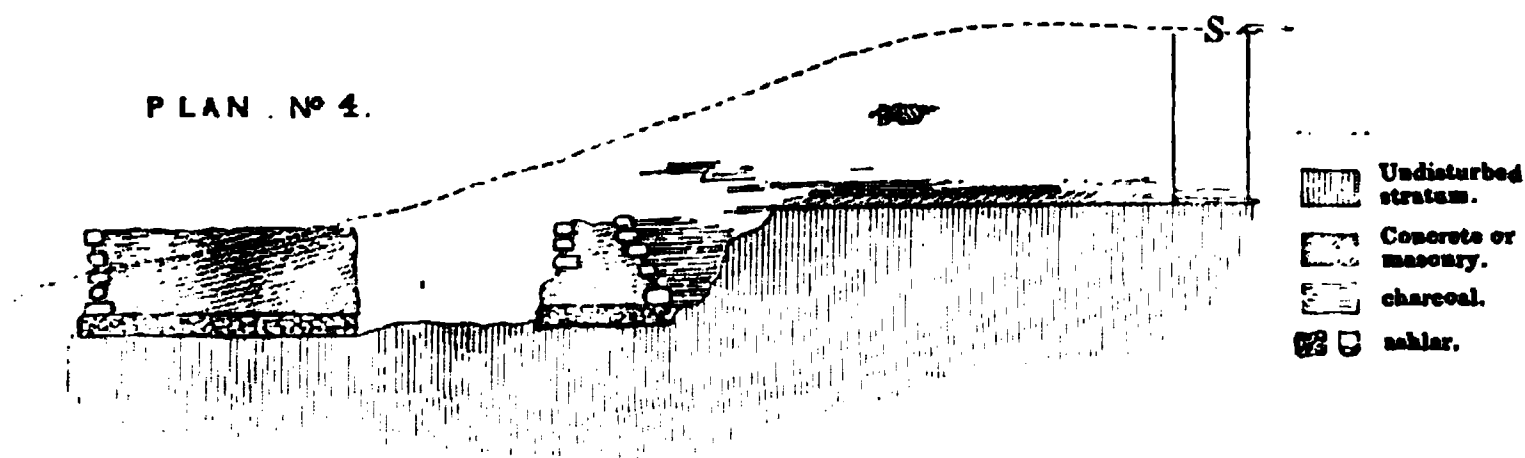
yards, by which it appeared that the whole length had been nearly stripped of the ashlar.

We come now to consider the smaller walls, which formed a small chamber, without traces of pavement or doorway,  $9 \times 7$  feet, and which would have been nearly rectangular but for the curvature of the main wall. About half of the rounded angle was occupied by this chamber, whose walls were unequal both in length and thickness. Their construction appeared coeval with that of the main wall, as they are bonded to it at the angles, and rest on a similar artificial stratum of loose flints and sand.

Plan, No. 4, represents a section of these remains, carried through, on a scale of  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch to the foot, upon the line S s on the ground-plan, which was selected because at S a shaft had been previously sunk, at the bottom of which, eight feet below the surface of the field, an accumulation of charcoal was noticed mingled with the soil. To proceed however with the excavation of the chamber, it was observed that its exterior ashlar was, towards the south-west, laid on in receding courses, causing a diminution in the thickness of the wall upwards. This step-like arrangement was far too regular and considerable to have been the effect of accident, and conjecture was now enlivened by the presence of a large body of pure charcoal, contiguous to this wall in every direction as far as the borers could penetrate. Its limits in one direction were at length defined, as shewn in plan, No. 4; and a section of a yard in breadth was resolved upon, to ascertain the connexion of this heap of charcoal with the traces of charcoal which had already been observed in the shaft, S. The interval was found to be occupied by an eight-inch stratum of lime and sand concrete, on which a regular pavement of rounded beach pebbles was very loosely imbedded. Upon these a layer of charcoal was very well defined, though of inconsiderable thickness: but the charcoal, pavement, and concrete gradually wore out and terminated before arriving at S. The depth below the surface precluded lateral investigation, but at the centre, between S and the wall, the breadth of the pavement was ascertained to be six feet without any termination being arrived at. Between the pavement and the surface, traces of disturbed masonry were observed parallel to the main wall. This (about fifty years ago) was remembered as a smaller wall, which had been removed with some

labour, and is reported to have been then co-extensive with the vallum. Its position seems to mark it as the work of a later period constructed with Roman materials.

The excavation brought to the surface the following objects, viz.—



1. A silver ring of rude workmanship. 2. A knife. 3. Pins of bone and ivory, one of which was unfinished. 4. Fragments of glass, stag's horn, pottery, tiles, and oyster shells. 5. Coins of no value. 6. Masses of mortar, the most remarkable being fitted to a tile of semi-cylindrical form.

The arrangement of these remains offers food for hypothesis, especially if resorted to by comparison with similar discoveries. Charcoal is frequently discovered in connexion with Roman buildings, but seldom is there on record the finding of several cart loads under such peculiar circumstances. Josephus, *de bell. Jud.*, l. iii. c. 5, speaks of carpenters constructing wooden towers as essential to a Roman fortification. The destruction of such a tower by fire must have left traces. But in that case, remnants of iron, and partially charred timbers, would have formed a portion of the evidence.

Again, sacrificial rites with the Romans were preparatory to laying a foundation.

“Fossa fit ad solidum; fruges jaciuntur in ima;  
Et de vicino terra petita solo.  
Fossa repletur humo, plenæque imponitur ara;  
Et novus accenso finditur igne focus.”—Ovid. *Fast.* iv. 820

Such was Ovid's description of the walls of the imperial city, and the solemnities to which he refers had doubtless passed occasionally before the eyes of his contemporaries. They would certainly leave traces in some respects corresponding with the appearances before us. But if these were the ashes of a sacrifice, the works must have been progressing before the fire was kindled.

Assuming that the law of the twelve tables was observed

generally, "Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito," might we not suppose the garrison pressed by external foes, and constrained within the circuit of their walls to perform the last offices to the dead? They would naturally select a spot at one corner of their encampment, as far removed as possible from their quarters, and overlooking their customary place of burial, which appears, from the frequency of coins there discovered, to have been in the field adjacent, opposite to the Porta Decumana.

After all, the most natural supposition is, that the heap of charcoal had been of gradual accumulation, either from the fires of beacons to direct vessels into harbour, when the sea covered the marshes, or as a more ignoble deposit in a pit intended for the purpose. Portions may have accidentally fallen on the paved ways contiguous, before reaching its destination. And, following these approaches by a more laborious effort, some future excavator may hereafter be gratified by discovering the building from which they led; or standing in the old prætorium, may recover, in the name of the Institute, the lost eagles of Ostorius.

JAMES LEE WARNER.

P. S. In presenting to the Institute the subjoined engraving of a gold coin in his possession, lately found at Caistor, near Norwich, Venta Icenorum, the writer of the above article reports the additional results of an excavation at Brancaster. See plan, No. 1.



A strongly grouted road, eleven yards in width, passes through the eastern gate, (the bastions of which have been obliterated,) and is traceable above 120 yards in a westerly direction, at an average depth of two to four feet below the surface. A portion of this road had been undermined at the gateway, and afterwards the breach filled up principally with loose squared stones from the building.

Near the point marked S. in plan, No. 1, a finely grouted floor exists two feet below the surface, still retaining portions of a pavement of flat tiles, in digging for which large squared stones, as elsewhere, were met with.

# ON THE COURSE OF THE ICKNILD WAY AS CONNECTED WITH NORWICH CASTLE.

BY ARTHUR TAYLOR, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE Icknild is one of those ancient trackways which, having their commencement in Cornwall, or some extreme point in the south-west of Britain, and diverging to the east and north-east, extended across the whole breadth of the island, generally following in each direction the course of a line of hills, and a country accessible by nature.

In its particular character, and when found in a pristine state, the Icknild is emphatically an unmade road; as is implied by the terms drift-way, track-way, bridle-way, by which we are taught to know it. It avoids rivers, and land likely to have been forest or morass; and it is remarkably addicted to chalk formations.

For the present purpose, connected more especially with its termination in the county of Norfolk, the following may be a sufficient sketch of its general bearing. From Dorchester, or rather the great hill fort of Maiden Castle, it kept along the downs of Dorset and Wiltshire, and thence through Berkshire, Oxford, and Buckinghamshire, following the range of Chiltern hills, sometimes skirting their base, then running along their side, but seldom quitting the dry and open chalk. On the confines of Bedford and Hertfordshire, and to the north-west corner of Essex, I have tracked it on foot, assisted by the valuable observations of Mr. Roger Gale, in his well-known Essay on the Four Great Ways.

After passing through Wendover, and leaving Tring to the right, the Icknild runs to Dunstable; and thence, crossing the great road north of Luton, to *Ickleford*, a village north of Hitchin, where we clearly trace its name. It then goes through Baldock and Royston, and is afterwards found at *Ickleton*, near Chesterford, on the borders of Essex and Cambridgeshire. From this point to its eastern termination the course of the Icknild has been hitherto matter of conjecture.

Some writers, possibly attracted by the names, have in-

clined to Ickworth and Ixworth, near Bury<sup>a</sup>. "If it came to Ixworth," says Mr. Gale, "I believe it is now impossible to determine what course it took eastward of that place." He imagines, though evidently with hesitation and doubt, that it might have crossed the Waveney at Lopham Ford, and gone by Taesburgh to *Venta Icenorum*, and thence to *Garianonum* near Yarmouth. This opinion was adopted by Dr. Mason, who is reported by Mr. Gage<sup>b</sup> to have traced the Icknild, after it leaves Ixworth, through Lopham and Kenninghall to Buckenham, with one route direct to Castor, and another going near Taesburgh, and thence by Hadiscoe church to Burgh castle.

In the opinions here cited, as well as in the generality of remarks upon the subject, there is the capital error of considering a British road with reference to Roman towns; and this error, important alike to both branches of enquiry, has distorted most of the facts and observations upon which we should rely, or laid them open to a just suspicion. The Icknild Way must have no connection with *Venta Icenorum*, with *Garianonum*, or with *Ad Taum*; it ignores and repudiates the Itinerary of Antonine; nor should it be associated with "streets" and "strattons" or the visible indications of Roman work. With a view to any satisfactory conclusion as to its course we have first to consider what is the real character of the works or stations to which it would lead, or with which it is generally connected.

The British trackways are remarkably distinguished by the occurrence of hill forts or towns, peculiar both in form and position, and to which Roman encampments are sometimes placed in a hostile relation. Many of the celebrated works of this class in the midland and western counties are along the Icknild Way; and after crossing the Thames it either passes or opens communication with several others. It is extraordinary that so remarkable a succession of similar works, connected by a road of essential continuity, should have been considered only in detail, and with every possible variety of misapprehension and mistake. On the route already traced we have the great fortresses called Maiden Bower and Tot-

<sup>a</sup> It may here be remarked that in our present route the names of places are compounds of *Ickle* and not of *Ick* or *Ix*.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 12. Dr.

Mason's MSS. are quoted with commendation by Messrs. Lysons in their *Britannia*.



ternhoe, near Dunstable; then Ravensbury, an extraordinary work on the boldest of the Luton hills; further east, Wilbury near Ickleford, which Stukeley characterizes as a British town. Beyond this, and near Ashwell in Hertfordshire, a smaller work called Arbury Banks; one perhaps is obliterated between Royston and Ickleton; and in Cambridgeshire (if our road should lie in that direction) we have Vandlebury on the Gogmagog hills. Several of these are places of natural strength; but in other situations it has been enough that the hill was sufficiently open, and could be detached from the nearest high ground.

To some position in the county of Norfolk, of the same general character, we cannot but suppose this road would have led. For the last of this long line of British works we want another chalk hill, well into the county, and bearing to the north-east. Norfolk has no hills of the bolder class, and our attention is therefore directed to the site of NORWICH CASTLE, as the spot which complies with the required conditions better than any other in its neighbourhood. That it also possessed natural capabilities of the kind mentioned above will appear from the following description:—"The high ground runs northward into the city in the manner of a promontory, which was very steep on all sides except the south, where it joined to the rest of the high ground, and was therefore well fitted by nature to be easily fortified, which was done by making a large and deep ditch on that side<sup>c</sup>."

In a conjecture that the Castle Hill was originally a British post, I am anticipated by some of the fathers of British archæology, whose statements are by no means at variance with the legendary system current in their days. And such an opinion is doubtless strengthened by the near antagonism of a Roman camp<sup>d</sup>; it may also be confirmed by circumstances connected with the name of the station; but, on whatever grounds it may have been formed or on whatever authority supported, I am willing to persuade myself that it only acquires consistency when taken in relation to the course of the Icknild Way, and, in the absence of external evidence, that a connection with this road and with the general plan of

<sup>c</sup> Kirkpatrick's Notes concerning Norwich Castle; for the publication of which we are indebted to Mr. Gurney.

<sup>d</sup> Castor, the *Venta Icenorum*; about three miles to the south-west.



British occupation is the surest foundation on which it can rest.

It will not be forgotten, however, that the course of the Icknild Way, as regards the county of Norfolk, has yet to be established. Besides the opinion that it ran by Bury and Ixworth, a route has been proposed by Mr. Leman (proceeding inversely from the coast near Yarmouth), according to which, after "passing through Taesburgh, it runs by *Icklingham* and Newmarket, and continues by Bournbridge to Ickleton and Royston<sup>e</sup>." The bishop of Cloyne, the ablest of all our writers on this subject, had also adopted a line by Newmarket, as appears from his remarks on the ancient roads of Cambridgeshire<sup>f</sup>; and the same line is partially recognised by the Ordnance Survey. Mr. Woodward, in an essay of later date, adheres to the old notion: "The Icknild," he says, "passes through Buckenham to Ixworth and Bury St. Edmund's<sup>g</sup>." This assertion is not supported: but a difficulty may still be supposed to exist which I am fortunately in a condition to remove, by identifying with the road itself one of the places through which it passed. A deed in my own collection, apparently of the reign of Henry III., conveys a certain solar, with houses and chambers, no otherwise described, as to their locality, than as extending upon Ykenildeweie; but, as the terms of the grant have a special reference to the gate of the grantor's house, he living at Newmarket, the premises were clearly at that place. We have therefore historical evidence, and we have the Survey, confirming that part of Mr. Leman's hypothesis (if it be his) which relates to Icklingham and Newmarket; to the other line, as a *first* or *principal* one, objections might occur which it is now unnecessary to consider.

From Newmarket the Icknild appears for a short distance as the county boundary, and runs into Suffolk at Kentford<sup>h</sup>;

\* Commentary on the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, as published by the late Mr. Hatcher, 1809, p. 112. In the page following, Taesburgh is called "the ancient capital of the Iceni." Surely no one who had seen it could have regarded this place as the site of a British town, or in any other light than as a secondary Roman encampment guarding the pass of a river.

<sup>f</sup> Lysons' *Magna Britannia* — Cam-

bridgeshire, 1808. It is much to be regretted that the whole of Bishop Bennet's invaluable papers are not before the public.

<sup>g</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. 1831.

<sup>h</sup> Mr. Grose mentions an encampment near Icklingham called Kentfield. Kentbury hundred in Berkshire, which includes part of the Icknild country, is no doubt of the same etymological family: and so possibly Kentchester.

thence, as marked on the Ordnance map, by Cavenham into the parish of Icklingham All Saints; and thence, probably on the line which divides the hundreds of Lachford and Blackbourn, by the old gap to Thetford<sup>1</sup>.

The important clue which has thus been afforded may encourage further research; and it is the principal object of this paper to solicit information as to the country between Thetford and Norwich, with a particular reference to the lines of chalk, and the quality of soil, and the relative elevation of the ground. Nor need enquiries be limited within this range. It is a well-known tradition, recorded by many chroniclers, that these ancient ways, and particularly Icknild and Foss, extended "from sea to sea;" and if, as the bishop of Cloyne saw reason to believe, the latter was continued to the coast beyond Lincoln, we can hardly reject the tradition as it regards the former. Yarmouth, however, Drayton's terminus, was a sand-bank not yet above the waters at the British time, and every thing near it marsh or unformed ground.

The Icknild would probably enter Norwich at Brazen Doors, passing by All-Saints Green to the Castle Hill. From its lower side, or from Red-well Plain, an extension to the coast would point for Magdalen street, crossing the river where high ground is nearest the water, or below Elm Hill. Beyond the city, it might be looked for to the north-east, its usual course; and a line drawn from Thetford, through Norwich, in that direction, will end at *Hickling*, where, according to the geological maps, the chalk is once more found. The entire breadth of the county is therefore open to this investigation; and whilst I invite the attention of my compatriot antiquaries to a subject of local interest, it is in the hope of also developing an obscure but most important branch of national antiquities.

*Canonbury, July, 1847.*

#### COPY OF THE DEED REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING PAPER.

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus filius Radulfi Brother, de Novo Mercato, dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Petro

<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt this was the road in use in the time of Richard the Second; for it was at Icklingham that Spencer the bishop met and maltreated the messengers

of the Commons, on his way from Newmarket to Norwich.—*Idol of the Clowns*, p. 110.

filio Will'i de Stansted, pro homagio suo et suo servicio, totum solarium meum lapideum quod se extendit super ~~Pkenildetote~~, cum omnibus cameris et domibus eidem solario anexis ; et totam curiam meam quam tenuit Letia relicta Giliberti fratris mei in dotem, preterquam octo pedes in longitudine ante hostium domus meæ juxta parietem Oseberti de Lawik, et in latitudine a dicto pariete versus occidentem octo pedes ; Habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis sive de meis assignatis, ipse<sup>k</sup> et heredes<sup>k</sup> sui vel sui assing<sup>a</sup>ti, libere quiete bene in pace, pro me et heredibus meis : Reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus pro omni servicio, consuetudine, curiarum sectis, auxiliis, et exactione seculari, ad Pasca unum denarium. Et ego dictus Robertus et heredes mei sive mei assing<sup>a</sup>ti warantizabimus aquietabimus et defendemus dictum solarium, cum suis cameris et domibus et omnibus pertinenciis eidem solario anexis, et dictam curiam (octo pedibus in longitudine et latitudine exeptis) dicto Petro et suis heredibus vel suis assing<sup>a</sup>tis, vel cuicunque dare vendere vel in extremis suis legare voluerint, per predictum servicium, contra omnes gentes et Judeos<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Sic.

<sup>l</sup> Mr. Way has obligingly favoured me with some remarks on a difficult word in the above recited deed, which he will allow me to communicate as follows.

"The term *solarium* is used in this interesting document in a singular manner. An upper chamber or loft is still termed, in some parts of England, a *soller*; the term is not exclusively English, the French *Solier*, and the German *Soller*, having the same signification. It has been derived by some writers from 'Lat. *Solarium*, quia sc. *Solis* radios liberrimè excipit,' (Skinner); whilst Wachter would trace it to the obsolete German verb *Sulen*, *tabulare*, explaining *Soller* to be a boarded construction, '*locus tabulatus, in quacunque ædium parte.*' Roquefort asserts that any part of the house, as well the ground floor and *salle basse* as the *grenier*, was termed, in old French, *Solier*, because the structure was built '*sur le sol.*' Wachter indeed observes, '*Anglis solar locus sub pavimento,*' but in its usual acceptance the term denotes a loft, as, in Norfolk, the 'bell-soler' of a church tower. In the Promptorium Parvulorum, compiled in that county, 'loft or soler' is rendered *solarium*, and 'garytte, hey solere, *specula.*' In the later Wicliffite version the upper room of the town-gate, called in the Vulgate *cornaculum*, is rendered 'the Soler of the gate,' (2 Kings xiii. 33; compare 4 Kings xxiii. 12.) The term designated not only an ordinary loft, but a light upper chamber of the better sort, such as may be seen in some of the ancient timbered houses in Cheshire

and Shropshire, of which Morton Hall in the former county supplies an excellent example.

"It is probable that the college at Cambridge, mentioned by Chaucer, which '*men clepe the Soler Hall,*' was so named because a construction of this nature formed a striking feature of its appearance. Thus also it appears probable that, in the deed under consideration, *solarium lapideum* is specified, as having been the most important portion and feature of the buildings to which the document related. It may have been a superstructure, serving either as a chamber of better accommodation than those adjoining to it, or else as a spacious loft or warehouse, with an open workshop beneath; a basement only partially closed in at the sides, and not suited for habitation."

In acknowledging these remarks it may be permitted to subjoin, from Wats's Glossary to Matthew Paris, his understanding of the term: "*Hæc autem pro meis Anglis solummodo observavi, qui viliores et non elegantiores domus cameram the Solar appellitare consueverunt.*" It would appear that our Glossarists, under "*Solarium*," have confounded words of different etymology and meaning. With reference to the derivation of these words, *sol*, the sun, cannot surely be the etymon for our present purpose; and if so, we need not recognise as essential any form of construction adapted particularly to the admission of light or to the better sort of domestic accommodation.

With great deference to the judgment which has been exercised above, I con-

In cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis  
testibus,

Will'o Le Priur de Exning.  
Nicol                      de eadem.  
Ada Le Flemeng, de eadem.  
Ric. Malet, de eadem.  
Petro filio Petri, de eadem.  
Henrico . . . . .  
Galfrido filio Martini, de Novo Mercato.  
Ric. de Ykelingham.  
Ric. Mayner.  
Reig'o Le Akatur.  
Galfrido mercatore.  
Johanne servo.  
Gilberto servo.  
Radulfo filio Ang'.        et aliis.

SEAL.—Of a pointed oval form, with a bird, perhaps a pelican ; and this  
legend

✠ S' . ROB' . FIL' . RAD' . BROp'.

ceive the primary signification of the word in the deed to be that of a ground-plot open at the sides, with a floor or loft over, the term applying to the loft; and this accords with the "soler of the gate" in Wicliffe, which is a room over a common way. The words in connection with *solarium*, "*quod se extendit*," would hardly have been employed in describing a house; and they are very important to the sense. If we imagine a range of sheds, of the kind described, and covering a piece of

ground which extended in length along the side of the road, we shall perhaps most easily reconcile the term in question with this part of its context.

The singular form of warranty at the end of the deed implies a date prior to the expulsion of the Jews in 1290. The locality is further identified by the list of witnesses, five of whom are of Exning, a parish adjoining to Newmarket, where probably the conveyance was drawn.

## A FEW NOTES RESPECTING THE BISHOPS OF EAST ANGLIA.

LADIES, my lords, and gentlemen, the place in which we are this day met, surrounded by this brilliant assemblage of the beautiful, the noble, and intellectual children of East Anglia, suggests the propriety of bestowing some special attention upon the history of this important portion of our island. Honoured as we are by your attendance and support, it is fitting that we, in turn, do all honour in our power to your fine country, which ever has been and still is, of such weight in the history of England.

The influence and power of East Anglia were often felt in the fortunes of the various kingdoms which existed in this land previous to the eleventh century; and events of which this district was the theatre, as well as persons who were actors therein, have been from time to time connected with some of the most important moments of progress which we can trace during the continuance of the Anglo-Saxon power. It has therefore appeared not an unfitting or a useless task, nor altogether an ungraceful labour, to carve as it were out of the history of anti-Norman England, one chapter which should be devoted exclusively to yourselves; and to take a review, however cursory, of some events in your national career, which have hitherto appeared doubtful in the eyes of enquirers into the facts of the time gone by.

There is much to attract and charm in the scattered legends of East Anglia; the dim forms which here and there emerge from the clouded past, in our shadowy phantasmagoria, have a melancholy but majestic mien. Yours is a land of saints and martyrs; of holy kings and princes, and royal virgins, who cheerfully cast aside all the pomp and glory of their earthly crowns for the love of a more enduring crown in heaven. To you belong the murdered, or in the language of an earlier period, martyred, princes, St. Eádmund and St. Æðelberht: and to you belong some of the choicest tales among those which have survived the centuries of oppression and neglect, under which the Anglo-Saxon literature,

the Anglo-Saxon feelings and institutions, have been compelled to rest.

I wish that we could conscientiously give you the fair Angle lady who, to avenge her slighted charms, crossed the ocean with 100,000 warriors of her people, and compelled a faithless bridegroom to fulfil his vow; but unhappily, East Anglia is not the only Angle kingdom either in this island or on the continent; nor is Procopius, the lively and amusing gossip to whom we owe the story, sufficiently accurate in the localities he assigns to the nations of the indignant Angle or the unstable Varnian, to permit of our placing his romantic legend among the ascertained facts of history<sup>a</sup>. The legends of Horn and Havelok, however, are yours; and it is probable that your claim is the best to Gormund and Isenbart, and the tales connected with them. To the romantic story of Ragnar Lodbrog, his betrayal by his faithless squire, and the fearful revenge exacted by his deceived sons, Ingwar and Ubba, upon St. Eâdmund, none but yourselves can have any claim at all<sup>b</sup>. It is not surprising that East Anglia should have thus sung and been sung: from the first, it offered an object of attraction to the wanderers from the opposite shores of the continent; it was, in all human probability, the seat of the earliest Teutonic colonists of this land, at a period far anterior to that commonly assigned to the advent of Hengest and his comrades. On this shore I think it likely that the indigenous Celt and the German colonist, alike appealed to the justice or shrank from the oppression of the Roman officer, the count of the Saxon shore; and later far, within this district arose and for a while continued, a Danish kingdom, the gradual fusion in which of a German and a Scandinavian race could not fail to leave traces of its progress on the intellectual and imaginative character, which is the universal, the unfailing result of such national amalgamations.

It is my wish on this occasion to devote a few moments to the prelates who filled this see at an early period of our history, with a view to clear up a slight confusion which prevails in their order and chronology.

In such an assemblage as this I can hardly suppose it necessary to say that East Anglia possesses high claims to the gratitude of all Englishmen who are alive to the civilizing

<sup>a</sup> See Proc. Bell. Got. iv. 20.

<sup>b</sup> See Rog. Wendover, i. 303. ed. Eng. Hist. Society.

influence of Christianity. You, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure, cannot but remember, and with pleasure, that the conversion of your then isolated land is among the first recorded in this island. But there are circumstances which stand in near connexion with that conversion, which give a peculiar interest to it, which lend the colouring almost of romance to your history, and which are less generally familiar, among those at least who have not made the oldest English records their special study.

It is known that the profession of Christianity, which the influence of Æðelberht had generally introduced into Kent and Essex, was on the point of total extinction after his death and the accession of his son Eâdbald. The pious historian to whom we owe nearly all our information respecting the state of England in the eighth century, looks upon the apostasy of this prince and his people as the cause why the preponderating influence of Æðelberht passed from his family and kingdom into the hand of Rædwald, the then supreme king of the East Anglians.

But Rædwald was yet, if not entirely, at least in part, a pagan; he had early adopted and relinquished Christianity. Like Æðelberht, the first Christian king among the Saxons, he had probably seen and respected the manners, and been disposed to appreciate the belief of Christian subjects or neighbours: no act of intolerance is recorded in the district subject to his rule, and he seems at one time to have paid sufficient attention to the exhortation of the missionaries to induce them to number him among their converts. But old habits and domestic associations prevailed, and he soon resumed the open profession of paganism, which he had probably never really abandoned.

The influence of a king in those days, was not very great beyond the circle of his own household retainers, nor was it likely to be exerted in religious questions. The free cultivators of the soil, who on occasions of offensive or defensive war, assembled under the banner of their own counts or sheriffs, and, no doubt, preferred a life of steady systematic peace, to the violent, though exciting scenes, which interfered with their domestic comfort and their means of wealth,—I mean the farming of their lands and tending their cattle,—may very probably have entertained a deep and real belief in their ancient gods; but I do not think



that this was very likely to be found among the noble and military adventurers, who clustered round the princes of the time, and whose whole life was devoted to the arts of war and the splendour of a court, such even as courts then were. They had too much confidence in themselves, too little in the higher power, which less daring adventurers feared and revered, and the positive testimony of ancient records proves that they at least were very indifferent in their religious ideas. A Swedish prince is stated, in an ancient Saga, to have been *mikit blandin i trunni*, i. e. much confused in his belief, and so was Rædwald of East Anglia; for even after his conversion, we learn from Beda that he only admitted the Christian altar into the same sanctuary in which he still retained the altars or images of his heathen gods. Yet strangely enough it is to this very indifferent prince that Christianity immediately owed its final triumph in England.

The usurpation of Æðelfrið, by uniting both the Northumbrian kingdoms, had expelled Eadwine or Edwin from the throne of that district more particularly designated as Deira. For years Eadwine found a precarious protection among the Keltic princes and clergy, till his approaching manhood either stimulated him to strike a blow for the throne of his forefathers, or admonished Æðelfrið at once to crush a competitor now grown too dangerous to be neglected. In the neighbourhood of Chester the British and Northumbrian levies met: the fortune of Æðelfrið triumphed, and Eadwine fled from the scene of his disaster, first into Mercia, and thence to the court of Rædwald.

Threats and promises were liberally employed by the victor to ensure the extradition of his dangerous kinsman, but Rædwald, either faithful to his honourable duty, or guided by a wise policy, twice refused to part with a guest whom he had undertaken to protect, or a hostage whom he might find useful in his dealings with his neighbours in Northumbria. A third application, backed by large pecuniary offers, was more successful. Rædwald wavered, and at length consented to the dishonourable terms proposed. At this crisis of his fate, a faithful friend communicated to Eadwine the afflicting news, and offered to assist him in procuring another and safer asylum: but the prince, broken-hearted and weary of spirit, refused to embrace a course which would have exposed him to the blame of being the first to violate the compact



between Rædwald and himself: wherefore should he live, or whither should he fly, whom his enemies had already tracked and persecuted through all the provinces of Britain?

Thus heart-weary or despairing he resigned himself to a fate which now appeared inevitable. While sitting alone, absorbed in the contemplation of his miserable destiny, he was surprised by the appearance of a venerable stranger, who addressing him, and declaring that the cause of his distress was known, demanded what return the prince would make to that man who should change the disposition of Rædwald in his favour? The utmost gratitude was promised; and the stranger continued, "What, if he should promise thee not only victory over all thy enemies, but a career of power and glory beyond all the kings of the Angles that have preceded thee?" On receiving the assurance of unbounded thankfulness, he again required, "And if he who has fulfilled these promises to thee should impart doctrines of life and salvation, more efficacious and better than have ever yet been communicated to any of thy kin, wilt thou promise obedience to and compliance with his instructions?" The promise was willingly given, when the stranger, having placed his hand upon the prince's head, and saying, "When this sign is again given, remember this hour and this interview, and fail not to fulfil the engagement thou hast made," vanished from his sight, and left him convinced that he had been consoled by a visitant from a superior world<sup>o</sup>.

At this moment the friend who had formerly offered to assist him approached, announcing that Rædwald had yielded to a more loyal feeling, and that the fugitive prince was safe. Eadwine was young, fair, and unfortunate, qualities of which the latter at least has never failed to win the sympathy and aid of woman. The queen, whose influence had sufficed to recall her husband to his half-abandoned paganism, had now prevailed upon him to return to more honourable and generous conduct towards his guest and suppliant. But the rage of the disappointed Northumbrian was certain to break out in open hostility: it was determined to prevent

<sup>o</sup> It is a pity that we have no description of the vision. Wôden often visited the heroes of antiquity either to threaten or console: he was rarely known till the moment of his departure, he generally

appeared enveloped in a large mantle, broad-hatted, and usually in the guise of a man with but one eye: the reason for which is found in the Norse mythology.

him : on the banks of the river Idle in Nottinghamshire, was fought the sanguinary battle in which the power of Æðel-frið was broken and himself slain. Eadwine now ascended the vacant thrones of Deira and Bernicia, and having soon after demanded and obtained the hand of Æðelburh, a daughter of the royal house of Kent, thus consolidated his power by a close alliance with the reigning prince of that country. In a short time he became the most powerful king that had yet ruled the sceptre of Northumberland.

Æðelburh, whose surname of Tâte denotes the gentleness of her character, was a Christian ; nor had she been accorded to the Northumbrian without a solemn stipulation that she should be permitted the free exercise of her religion. She was accompanied by Paulinus, who had received episcopal ordination, and was designated to the see of York, as soon as Christianity should be established in the kingdom of which that city was the metropolis.

The sequel of the tale is soon told. Suffering had softened the mind of Eadwine : perhaps the early lessons of his Keltic protectors had never been totally eradicated from his mind : perhaps even in the court of Rædwald he had enjoyed some opportunities of learning the peculiar doctrines or observing the peculiar demeanour of the Christians. Above all it is to be thought that the example and persuasions of Æðelburh and Paulinus had influence upon his mind : it was evidently prepared for the reception of the truth, when once Paulinus, suddenly addressing him, laid a hand upon his head and demanded "Dost thou recognise this sign?" The astonished prince now remembered the mysterious visitant, whose two promises had been so miraculously fulfilled, and listened with awe and reverence to the exhortations which held out the lessons of eternal salvation. Yet not rashly or imprudently did this wise ruler adopt a creed so different from that of his friends and comrades. He called a council or parliament of his people, before whom the respective merits of Christianity and paganism were solemnly discussed. The unanimous vote of the assembly, ratified by the acclamations of the surrounding multitude, proclaimed the triumph of the new faith : the high-priest of the ancient gods, now an ardent convert, hastened to desecrate the temple and altar he had served ; a rude church was constructed in all haste within the walls of York, and on Easter day, the most powerful of the Northumbrian kings,

the once endangered dependant upon Rædwald's bounty, received the sacred rite of baptism at the hands of Paulinus.

It is impossible to overrate the importance of this event. I look upon it as having assured and consolidated the triumph of Christianity, and as the turning-point of this part of our history. It is not, however, on this ground that I have introduced it to your notice, but on account of its connexion with a former king of this country, and of the result to this country in particular. Eadwine took care that the son of his former benefactor should not be without such incentives to adopt Christianity as his gratitude and zeal could suggest, and his efforts were crowned with success: Eorpwald received the rite of baptism, but being shortly after slain by Rîceberht, East Anglia relapsed into idolatry, till the religion of the cross was restored by Sigiberht, after an interval of three years<sup>d</sup>.

It is about this troubled period, from 627 to 631, and therefore little more than a quarter of a century after the landing of Augustine on our shores, that East Anglia first assumes a regular place in the ecclesiastical scheme of England. Felix her first bishop was a Burgundian missionary who, anxious to devote himself to the advancement of the faith he professed, came over to England, made a tender of his services to Honorius who then filled the metropolitan throne of Canterbury, and was by him dispatched to bear the great message of salvation into East Anglia. He established his episcopal see at Dummoc, now Dunwich, a sea port on the coast of Suffolk, about the year 632.

Sigiberht before he was called to place himself at the head of a turbulent and warlike aristocracy had been tried in the school of adversity. Family jealousies had led to his expulsion or voluntary retirement from East Anglia. In Burgundy, where he found a refuge, he had enjoyed the acquaintance and probably the instruction of Felix; and this may have led Felix to demand, and Honorius to grant East Anglia as the scene of the bishop's labours. These seem to have been highly successful; and it is to be presumed, since Honorius was a zealous Roman Catholic, that the ancient Arian or semi-Arian opinions of the Burgundians were not shared by the new prelate, but that the seed he sowed was of the true orthodox description.

I believe it would be a problem of very difficult solution,

<sup>d</sup> Bed. ii. 15.

what were really the grounds that led to the so frequent abdication of princes in the earlier periods of medieval history. After making every reasonable allowance for the effects of profound, but as I humbly think, misplaced religious conviction, we still cannot but feel that the constant recurrence of so strange a phenomenon requires some more extensive and inclusive analysis. This is not the place to enter upon any such, and I may be pardoned for merely suggesting that in my view, the physical state of individual men, under atmospheric, electrical, and geographical conditions very different from our own, may have had no slight influence upon determinations in this respect, to which the peculiar state of society formed an additional motive. Be this as it may, there is a fact of undeniable gravity, namely, that during the seventh and eighth centuries many persons of both sexes and the highest rank, voluntarily relinquished the advantages of their station to retire into monasteries or devote their days to laborious pilgrimages. Among them the royal family of East Anglia occupied no mean rank. Sigiberht himself after some years of rule relinquished his sceptre in favour of his kinsman Egric, a sub-king among the many who ruled over portions of the East Anglians<sup>e</sup>; but his people being invaded by the pagan king of the Mercians, Penda, he was reluctantly drawn from the retirement of the cloister to give his countrymen the benefit of his proved military experience, and fell together with Egric in an unsuccessful battle fought in 635<sup>f</sup>. He was succeeded on his throne by Anna, a grandson of Rædwald, who himself at a later period fell before the victorious arms of the same Mercian chieftain. Anna is, however, more celebrated for the virtues of his children than his own: he was the father of Aðelðryð, the virgin wife of two husbands, whose magnificent foundation at Ely you will be able to visit from this place; of Sexburh, once queen of Earconberht of Kent, and afterwards abbess in her sister's monastery; of two other daughters, one Aðelburh, who became abbess of a Gallic nunnery, and Wihtburh, who was a nun at Ely.

I cannot dismiss the subject of Sigiberht and his family without adverting to a once famous controversy, which is connected with their history, and which, for want of a better subject, at one time agitated the minds of English antiquaries

<sup>e</sup> Bed. iii. 18.

<sup>f</sup> Bed. *ibid.*

in no trifling degree. Among the services which this prince rendered to Christianity and to enlightenment was the establishment of schools or a school, under the peculiar care of Felix his bishop, in which no doubt the especial object was the teaching the chaunt and ritual according to the approved mode adopted at Canterbury, though in general terms we are told that a literary education was there given. The words of Beda (and no others on this occasion are worth one single moment's consideration) are these; "He returned to his country where he obtained the kingdom, and desiring to imitate those things which he had seen well arranged in Gaul, he founded a school in which boys might be taught letters, with the aid of Felix the bishop whom he had received from Kent, and who furnished them with pædagogues and masters after the Kentish fashion<sup>s</sup>." It would seem to require much ingenuity to find in this passage an authentic account of the foundation of Cambridge University. Yet it was pressed into that service with much obstinacy and little success, in order to meet a groundless claim on the part of Oxford to have been founded by Alfred. I have no desire to revive a controversy which led to much effusion of bitter gall, and therefore hasten to assure my brother Masters of Arts in the Senate of Cambridge and Convocation of Oxford, that we can neither of us lay the slightest claims to any such fabulous antiquity as our over zealous forefathers fancied it incumbent upon their dignity to assert. Against the pretensions of Cambridge the silence of Beda is conclusive: he gives no locality for the school (many MSS. indeed read schools) which Sigiberht established; and a strong argument that no one of these schools existed in his own time at Cambridge may be derived from the words he uses in describing that place at the period of Æðelðryð's reburial in 695, of which he was himself a contemporary. He states that Sexburh, who succeeded Æðelðryð in the government of Ely, commissioned certain monks of her monastery to provide stone for a more fitting tomb than her sister as yet rested in; that as the island of Ely furnished none of sufficient size, they took ship, and ascending the river came at length to a certain deserted little town called Grantchester, where they, in the language of those times, miraculously discovered a marble sarcophagus suited for their purpose. In this work of Roman paganism

the bones of the Christian virgin were solemnly entombed<sup>a</sup>. Now it seems to me that had one of Sigiberht's schools been found on the site of this ancient Roman station, we should have had some more definite account of the matter than the mere reference to a *civitatula quædam desolata*. Moreover there is no reason whatever to think that the isle of Ely or even Cambridge belonged to the country occupied by Sigiberht's subjects. I do not, however, concur with Lappenberg and Thorpe, who seem to refer it to Mercia. In times much later than the seventh century it no doubt did so; but at the time when Sigiberht reigned I have not the slightest doubt that Cambridgeshire formed the march or boundary land between the East Anglians and the middle Angles, and I do not believe that any school would be established in such a district. That Æðelðryð placed her monastery there is intelligible enough: her first husband had been Tûnberht, prince of the South Gyrwians or people of Ely, an officer most likely equivalent to those whom we are familiar with in German history, under the title of Margraves, a count or reeve of the western march, and Ely may have contained her dower lands: but the place which was well suited for a monastery was not necessarily adapted for a school; and indeed, it is not Ely but Cambridge that was the subject of controversy. On the other hand I shall not admit the authority of an obvious interpolation (and I fear a modern one) into Asser's life of Ælfred, to establish conclusions totally at variance with what we know of the political state of England in Ælfred's reign. The relation of Mercia to Wessex under Ælfred seems to have escaped the attention of the zealous partizans of Oxford, a Mercian town. Setting aside the great improbability of that prince's establishing any school or university except in the city where he himself principally resided, or in the part of England which he considered as more immediately subject to his own rule, a proper appreciation of Æðelflæd's decided and remarkable character does not appear to have entered into the calculations upon this subject. That lady, Ælfred's daughter, had been married to Æðelred, who probably possessed some claims to the ancient royalty of Mercia, but who, upon the gradual expulsion of the Danes from its component provinces, was content to govern it as a dependent duchy, owning a nominal supremacy in the king of Wessex. But

<sup>a</sup> Bed. iv. 18.



there is abundant evidence that this duke, who is frequently called a *sub-king*, was perfectly independent in the internal regulations of his district: he called parliaments of his own, raised levies of his own, and beyond periodical attendance upon Ælfred's court, appears to have been as independent as any Mercian prince that preceded him. Æðelflæd, the lady of the Mercians, as she is called, has left sufficient record of her masculine and powerful character: to her unwearied activity, skilful arrangement, and warlike enterprise, Saxon England owed the recovery of many provinces which Ælfred himself had been content to leave in the hands of the Danes, whom she expelled or subjugated. There is not only no evidence that her father ever thought of interfering in the internal management of the duchy, but a very strong probability that she would have resisted any such interference on his part. The absence, however, of all authority for the tale dispenses us from the necessity of seriously considering it: and the two universities may rest satisfied that there is a field open for generous rivalry better worth note than the useless squabble about superior antiquity, an antiquity based in either case upon fabulous and utterly groundless assertions.

From the time of Felix, we hear of no more paganism or apostacy among the East Anglians. After seventeen years spent in the discharge of his episcopal functions he was succeeded by Thomas, a Gyrwian, or inhabitant of Cambridge-shire, who had been his deacon: and this bishop having been removed by death in 652, five years after his master, Honorius appointed in his place Berctgils, surnamed Bonifacius, a man of Kent. Upon the death of Berctgils in 669 Bisi was raised to the vacant see, and in his capacity of bishop he took part in the council of Hertford, held under the presidency of Archbishop Theodore, on the 24th Sept., 673. The principal object which engaged the attention of the bishops at this synod was the introduction of a consistent and uniform system of ecclesiastical regulations. The peculiar position of the bishops naturally called for consideration. As the various kingdoms adopted Christianity, it seems to have been the general practice for one bishop to take the whole charge of one kingdom: this indeed was partly the consequence of the mode in which Christianity was introduced, viz., by missionaries, who were dispatched to different kingdoms, usually with the episcopal title and power necessary in order to en-

able them in turn to ordain priests among their expected converts. But this arrangement became plainly insufficient when the work of conversion had spread rapidly and a majority of the population had adopted the new faith. The English bishops differed throughout from their brethren on the continent of Europe, in one essential respect: they were not in general located in large towns. The Gallic and German bishops owed to this circumstance a large share of the influence and power which they gradually attained, when their position enabled them to unite the comital with the episcopal rank, and thus assume the highest secular as well as spiritual jurisdiction in their towns. In England on the contrary few large towns had escaped the ravages of conquest or gradual decay, and neither the people, their kings, nor their bishops, appear to have fixed their residences in them. As the king in his circuits through the country moved from one royal vill to another, where he remained until the failure of his stores compelled him to change his quarters, the bishop travelled from place to place, from farm to farm, from monastery to monastery, baptizing, confirming, preaching, ordaining, and literally performing the part of an inspector or overseer of his diocese. But in widely extended countries, as for instance Mercia or East Anglia, such a provision was speedily found insufficient, and Theodore appears at an early period to have determined upon an increase in the episcopal order commensurate to that which had taken place in the other orders of the Church. With this view he proposed his ninth canon to the council of Hertford; it ran in these terms: "that the number of bishops be increased as the number of the faithful increases." But his proposal seems not to have met with the assent which he anticipated: whether the bishops felt indisposed to share with others a power which they had wielded alone, or whatever were the cause of their demur, it is clear that no determination was come to by the synod<sup>1</sup>. Shortly after the meeting, however, Theodore took advantage of some disobedience on the part of Winfrið the Mercian bishop, to depose him from his rank, and on the death of Seaxwulf, whom he had ordained in Wilfrið's place, he carried his point of dividing Mercia into two bishopricks. Similarly he succeeded in dividing the diocese of East Anglia: soon after the synod of Hertford, Bisi was seized with a dangerous and

<sup>1</sup> Bed. iv. 6.



severe illness, which rendered him incapable of administering his diocese; two bishops, Æcci and Baduwini, were elected and consecrated in his place, Æcci to Dunwich, Baduwini to a new see established at Elmham in this county.

I am not aware that anything is recorded of these bishops, but it is probable that they attended the synod of Hatfield held in 680 by Theodore for the profession of faith; in which they acknowledged the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, and the ecumenic councils of Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople the second, and Rome.

About 693 Beadowine signed a charter granted by Oshere, a prince of Worcestershire<sup>k</sup>. In 706 the see was held by Noðberht, his immediate successor, whose signature to a charter of Æðelweard, another prince of the Huricas, may be seen in Cod. Dipl. No. 56. In the same year Æcci was still in possession of Dunwich: his signature is found to a charter of Waldhere, bishop of London<sup>l</sup>, and in 709 to one of Cenred's<sup>m</sup>, in 710 to one of Ceolred's<sup>n</sup>. Noðberht was succeeded by Heaðolâc, who probably sat for only a few years, inasmuch as Æðelferð the fourth bishop was consecrated in 736; Heaðolâc, however, was bishop of Elmham in 732, and Aldberht of Dummoc, according to the words of Beda at the close of the fifth book of his Ecclesiastical History, which was finished in that year<sup>o</sup>. In 742, however, the two sees were filled by Eanfrið (commonly called Lanferth in some lists) and Ecglâf, who were present at a great synod holden at Cloveshoo in that year by Æðelbald of Mercia<sup>p</sup>. In 781 Æðelwulf and Heardred the sixth bishop of Elmham and seventh of Dunwich, signed a deed between Heaðræd bishop of Worcester and Offa king of the Mercians, in a synod held by that prince at Brentford<sup>q</sup>. In 788 Heardræd was still in possession of Dunwich, but I believe that Æðelwulf of Elmham was dead or removed; for in that year appears Alhheard, a bishop not indeed mentioned in the usual lists of East Anglian bishops, but who is found in some ancient MSS., and can be referred to no other see than this. Their signatures are found to an interesting and original charter of Offa of the year 788<sup>r</sup>. In 789 we again find them<sup>s</sup>. They were both present in the same year at a

<sup>k</sup> No. 36.

<sup>l</sup> No. 58.

<sup>m</sup> No. 60.

<sup>n</sup> No. 62.

<sup>o</sup> Bk. v. ch. 23.

<sup>p</sup> No. 87.

<sup>q</sup> No. 143.

<sup>r</sup> No. 153.

<sup>s</sup> No. 155.

synod held at Cealchyð<sup>†</sup>, and in the following year Ealhheard sat in the council holden at London on Whit-Sunday<sup>‡</sup>, but Heardræd had probably died in the interval, as we now find the name of Ælfhun among the subscriptions; this Ælfhun was the eighth bishop of Dunwich. In 793 again Offa held a synod at Cealchyð, and this was attended by fifteen archbishops and bishops, among whom were the two East Anglian prelates, Alhheard and Ælfhun<sup>§</sup>. In 796 Ælfhun again occurs<sup>¶</sup>. In 798, though Alhheard still remained at Elmham a vacancy had occurred at Dunwich, and Tīdferð (the ninth bishop) had been consecrated in place of Eādwulf<sup>‡</sup>. The two signed a charter of Ceōlwulf's in 799<sup>§</sup>, and were present at the council of Cloveshoo in 803<sup>b</sup>, at the synod of Acleah, in August, 805<sup>c</sup>, signed an instrument of Cūðræd of Kent about the same period<sup>d</sup>. The king of the Mercians, Cēnwulf, held a parliament in 814. Among the prelates who attended it were Tīdferð of Dunwich, and Sibba of Elmham<sup>e</sup>: he is commonly given as the eighth bishop, and Hunferð is interpolated between him and Æðelwulf the sixth bishop, Alhheard being entirely omitted. If there be no error in this collocation, which seems to me probable, from the fact of another Hunferð being found ninth in the Elmham list and immediately after Sibba, this Hunferð must have had but a short enjoyment of his dignity. In 816 they are again found<sup>f</sup>, but eight years later, i.e. in 824, they are replaced by Hunberht in Elmham and Wermund in Dunwich<sup>g</sup>. This again leaves but little time for even the second Hunferð, if a second there were, which seems to me exceedingly questionable.

We have reached that important period in the history of the Saxons at which Egberht commenced the career of conquest which tended finally to unite the various island kingdoms in the person of his great great grandson Æðelstān. Let us take a slight review of the occurrences in East Anglia previous to this. If it be true that, looking at the mode in which history has generally been written, those nations are the most happy whose records are the fewest, then must East Anglia be pronounced a happy state. Sparing are its events

<sup>†</sup> No. 156, 157.

<sup>‡</sup> No. 159.

<sup>§</sup> No. 162.

<sup>¶</sup> No. 172, 173.

<sup>‡</sup> No. 175.

<sup>§</sup> No. 176.

<sup>b</sup> No. 183, 184, 185.

<sup>c</sup> No. 190.

<sup>d</sup> No. 191.

<sup>e</sup> No. 207.

<sup>f</sup> No. 210.

<sup>g</sup> No. 218.

between the commencement of the eighth and the middle or rather close of the ninth centuries. A melancholy episode however, lends an air of romance to this period, of which, otherwise so little is known. Like all the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, East Anglia no doubt contained many petty royalties, generally connected with, and subordinate to, some one prince more wise, more powerful, or more fortunate than his kinsmen. One chronicler indeed expressly says of this state, that it was desolated by internal dissensions; "the princes," he declares, "were many, whence arose innumerable wars; but even as they were many, their names had not descended to posterity." Many a gallant action, many a deed of heroism, no doubt, was once celebrated in national song: but East Anglia had no Homer, and the loss of contemporary records was not supplied by those who wrote when the Anglo-Saxon power was broken, and the tongue proscribed:

vixere fortes ante Agamemnona  
multi, sed omnes inlachrymabiles  
urgentur, ignotique longa  
nocte, carent quia vate sacro!

The chroniclers have been content to inform us that after the death of Anna, who fell fighting against Penda of Mercia, Æðelhere reigned: unable to refuse the commands, or led by policy to unite with the slayer of his father, (Florence calls him *auctor ipse belli*, a 655,) Æðelhere led his power in that great battle of Winwidfeld where Oswin of Northumberland triumphed over the pagan who had destroyed so many Christian princes: with Penda fell thirty leaders of kingly blood, and among them Æðelhere. By his queen Hereswîð he left two sons Aldwulf and Alfwold; but these were probably too young at the time of his death to wield the kingly dignity, and Æðelhere was succeeded by his brother Æðelwold. The reign of this prince does not appear to have been a long one: he was succeeded by his two nephews, Aldwulf and Alfwold. The term during which these princes reigned cannot be ascertained, nor can we fairly argue from the ordinary duration of life or the average duration of reigns.

We further learn that in the time of Offa king of the Mercians, Beorn reigned in East Anglia, and after him Æðelred, the father by Lêofrûn of Æðelberht. Now Penda fell in 655, and Offa came to the throne in 758, so that sup-

posing Beorn to have been upon the throne even in the first year of Offa's reign, we should have but three kings to fill a space of a hundred years, a most improbable calculation. From the mode, however, in which the matter is mentioned, I think it very improbable that these kings were of the same family, or that we possess all the steps of the succession. There may have been some, now lost, story which turned attention to Beorn, and induced the chronicler to record his name. The fate of Æðelberht has probably rescued both himself and his father from the oblivion which oppresses their predecessors.

In the year 755, as I have said, Offa became king of the Mercians. A few years sufficed to extend his power from the confines of Wales upon the west, to the Thames in the south, and the Humber on his northern frontier. The only power whose rivalry he could fear, was that of Wessex, with whose kings he had on more than one occasion successfully contended, and from whom he had succeeded to a great degree in detaching Kent, and perhaps Surrey. Though cruel and unscrupulous, Offa was a prudent and enlightened prince: he allied himself with Wessex, whose king Beorhtríc he married to his own daughter Eâdburn, and with whom he united in expelling Egberht, the son of Alhmund, the great king of Wessex and grandfather of Ælfred. Possessing the mouths of the Severn, the Thames, and perhaps the Humber, as well as the navigation of the great internal streams which fertilize the midland counties of England, Offa had become fully alive to the importance of foreign commerce; and so considerable was the trading communication in his time with the continent of Europe, that Charlemagne, on occasion of some fancied slight, had determined to revenge himself by the exclusion of the English merchants from his dominions, a folly from which he was weaned by the remonstrances of our great countryman, Alcuin. It is reasonable to suppose that Offa earnestly coveted the possession of your seaboard: East Anglia lay between the most extensive part of his dominions and the sea. Though not large, Naboth's vineyard was convenient, and the most unscrupulous means appear to have been resorted to in order to secure it.

The young king of the East Angles, Æðelberht, had been encouraged to entertain the notion of an alliance with Offa's house, by marriage with his second daughter. It is even

probable that Offa himself contemplated the attainment of his ends by these means. An invitation to resort to his court was therefore sent to the East Anglian who was received with becoming courtesy, and appears to have made an impression upon the heart of the Mercian lady. A few days however, only, had elapsed when the unhappy prince was murdered in the very dwelling of his royal host, and East Anglia was immediately overrun, and annexed, as far as annexation ever took place in those days, to Mercia.

The details of this melancholy occurrence are of an inconsistent and somewhat doubtful character. The Saxon Chronicle distinctly imputes the crime to Offa, but does not insinuate that it was a secret one: on the contrary it might almost be argued from the expressions used that he had some public justification for an act which posterity so severely criticised; the words are,

Her Offa, Myrcna cyning, hēht Æðelbyrhte cyninge ðæt heáfod ofāslean,  
 “This year, Offa king of Mercians commanded King Æðelberht's head to be struck off<sup>h</sup>.”

According to other accounts it was Offa's queen Cyneðrýð, who, for some unknown cause, incensed against Æðelberht, caused him to be smothered in his chamber, without the knowledge of her husband, whose whole participation in the crime was the advantage which he took of it by seizing on the territory of the murdered prince. This was the favourite view of the clergy, who pointed with pride to the magnificent abbey of St. Alban's (shortly I trust to become a cathedral) as evidence of Offa's repentance, and an example to the powerful guilty ones of this world. Moreover, after the triumph of Wessex under the descendants of Egberht, it was fashionable to heap obloquy upon the memory of Offa's family. Cyneðrýð herself, who may very likely have been a person of decided and even unscrupulous character<sup>1</sup>, was represented as a partly supernatural being. According to one tale, she was a relative of the Frankish kings, and for some unrecorded but unpardonable crime had been exposed alone in a boat upon the ocean; by the favour of the winds and waves she reached the shores of England, where her beauty captivated the most powerful monarch of the

<sup>h</sup> a 792.

<sup>1</sup> She is the only Saxon queen whose

coins are known, if indeed the coins be hers and not some royal abbess's.

west, and he made her the partner of his bed and throne. More genuine perhaps is the account that after the death of Offa and of her son Egfrið in 796, she was suddenly arrested, and put to death by being cast into a well. The hostility of Egfrið's successor Cênwulf, to Offa's line, renders not only Egfrið's death suspicious, but may even suggest the possibility of Cênwulf's having been cognizant of the means by which a dangerous and ambitious woman was removed: we can hardly believe a queen like Cyneðrýð, having been put to death in such a manner by a few robbers, *prædones*. I would rather suggest that her fate was due to the vengeance of the East Angles, especially as death by drowning was the proper punishment exclusively attached to the capital crimes of women.

Some currency may have been given to the tale of Cyneðrýð's participation in Æðelberht's death, for Æðelræd, the king of the Northumbrians, who was a suitor for the hand of Ælflæd, another of Offa's daughters, appears to have stipulated that the lady should be sent to him: the example of Æðelberht probably made princes chary of placing themselves in Offa's power. A singular Nemesis seems to have pursued this once powerful family. Offa indeed himself died in 796, full of years, and with undiminished power: but his son Egfrið reigned but a hundred days: Cyneðrýð perished miserably: Ælflæd's husband was murdered the year after his marriage: Eadburh, the wife of Beorhtric, of Wessex, who had distinguished herself by her vices and cruelty, finally poisoned her husband by mistake, in the cup which she had prepared for one of his favourites. Flying from the revenge of the people, or dreading the return of Egberht, she fled to the court of Charlemagne, by whom she was well received. On her solemn introduction into his presence the Emperor said, "Eadburh! which wilt thou take? myself, or my son who stands here beside me?" "'Thy son,'" boldly answered the Saxon lady, "for he is younger than thou!" To this Charlemagne rather unreasonably returned, "Hadst thou chosen me, thou shouldst have had him, but now thou wilt have neither!" He nevertheless presented her with a wealthy abbey, which would have amply sufficed for her comfortable support. But this miserable woman seems to have been incapable of self-command; she was soon detected in an ignoble intrigue, and being expelled from her monas-



tery, finished her days as a wandering beggar in the streets of Pavia. These details Ælfred the Great told Asser.

The Anglo-Saxon Church canonized Æðelberht. His kingdom remained attached to that of Mercia, during the reigns of Cænwulf and Ceólwulf, though under the nominal rule of an East Anglian king, till 825, when Egberht, who had now been twenty-three years upon the throne, which period he had spent in recruiting the finances, organizing and exercising the levies of Wessex, and securing himself from the attacks of the Welch upon his western frontier, commenced that career of conquest, which in the course of five generations led to the union of all England in the hands of a single king. In 824, Kent, his ancestral kingdom, was overrun, and the Mercian usurper Baldred expelled: a solemn treaty between the archbishop and the king of Wessex united the interests of the king of the west to him who held the key to the kingdom in the extreme east; in 825, the East Anglians appealed to Egberht for support, threw off the yoke of Mercia, and when suddenly fallen upon by two successive Mercian kings, vindicated their right to the ancient honour of their name, by the complete and total overthrow of their enemies.

In friendly intercourse with a kingdom whose ambition could not interfere with your independence, but which must have gratefully remembered the services you had rendered, the next half century past away. Less than half a century I should have said: for Egberht died in 829, and in 870 the worst storm that had hitherto burst upon East Anglia, was felt upon your shores.

The Norse legends, which furnish the most striking instances of the rapidity with which ascertained history can become transformed into mythology, the most extraordinary example of historical facts assuming within little more than one generation all the strange garb of fabulous antiquity, have much to tell of the ravages which the Norse pirates or Vikingar exercised upon our shores. The coasts of Northumberland and East Anglia were peculiarly exposed to their attacks; and long before they devised that great and systematic plan which ended in encircling the brow of a Norman duke with the kingly rigol of England, the bold, practised, hungry seamen of the north had infested our shores. In 802 a Norman force (not as may well be

imagined from the much later duchy of Normandy, but from Norway, parts of Sweden, Jutland and the Danish isles) burst into the mouth of the Tyne, ruined some of the noblest monuments of North Anglian piety, destroyed monasteries, burned books, charters, and churches, slew priests at the altar, monks in their cells, and the unarmed cultivator in the field, and gave the first frightful example of the means by which a vigorous attack could shake the somewhat torpid though easy civilization of England. The attack, however, led to no permanent establishment: ruinous it had been to the unsuspecting victims of the first onslaught, but many of those who had joined in it retired satiated with their spoil, while others, cut off by the peasantry whom they attacked in insufficient numbers, suffered the awful penalty of their adventure. The savage fury with which the northmen devastated every district which they visited, and the especial zeal with which love of plunder led them to seek out and ruin the religious foundations, explain, even if they cannot justify, the severe reprisals of the Saxons. There could be no favour shewn to pagans, whose ferocity was peculiarly obvious when its object was a nunnery, or monastery, or cathedral, sites in general so deeply venerated by our forefathers. Moreover it was the habit of the German races to slay the more distinguished of their captives; slavery was the lot of the obscure; the melancholy prerogative of rank was to devote its possessors to a death, which all the warriors of the north contemplated without terror. Ragnar Lodbrog, unsuccessful in a predatory landing, was captured, and put to death by Ælli of Northumberland. The details of his adventure, as delivered in the northern traditions, are of course not trustworthy; and of them all none is less so than the story of his having been cast into a pit filled with serpents by whose bites he perished, a very favourite horror in Scandinavian epos. The story of his death soon reached his native land, and his kinsmen or sons, Ingwar and Hubba, led an expedition to England. The cruel king of Northumberland was in turn made prisoner, and the still more cruel death to which he was put avenged the fate of Ragnar.

According to the East Anglian legend, Ragnar and a single squire came to the court of Eâdmund, son of Alhmund, where he was received with the courtesy due to his rank. But his faithless attendant slew him while hunting, and being detected



was condemned by Eâdmund to be exposed in a boat upon the sea. The fortune of the winds and waves bore him to his native Scandinavia. Here he devised the slanderous tale that his prince had been murdered by Eâdmund, and the sons of Ragnar immediately set out to avenge their father. It is historically true that about 870 an overwhelming force of Scandinavians under the leaders I have named burst upon East Anglia; that Eâdmund in vain endeavoured to defend his country: his force was defeated and himself captured. The chance of saving himself by apostatizing from Christianity was held out and honourably rejected: the prince after serving as a mark for the arrows of the pagans was beheaded, and the Danes were masters of East Anglia. Later tradition improved this story: a miracle marked the discovery of the king's mutilated remains: lapse of years could not bring corruption to the body of the martyr; over his bones and in the spot where he perished, the royal vill of Beâdriceswyrð, a modest chapel and monastery were founded, which in later years the munificence of Cnut raised to a pitch of wealth and splendour not exceeded by any of the abbeys in England. It is no doubt well known to all my hearers that this period is marked by an attempt on the part of the northmen of a more systematic and serious character than had yet been experienced in England. After various successes, and the infliction of yet unknown misery upon every province of this country, and after destroying every independent royalty, and thus rendering a consolidated and central monarchy possible, they found their star wane before the unbroken spirit of Ælfred. Victory after victory marked the progress of his arms: the greater number of the invading chieftains perished in the field, the barrows which here and there yet rise upon our plains mark the spots where these unquiet beings rest at length in peace. A solemn treaty defined the boundaries of the men of Wessex and the northmen. Ælfred reserved to himself the greater part of the ancient kingdom of Mercia, which he committed as a vice-royalty to his son-in-law Æðelred, together with the city of London. Ancient Wessex, Sussex, and Kent remained in his hands, and he was content to tolerate the beaten foe in the territories, which he felt no concern in, of East Anglia, North Mercia, and Northumberland. The Lea, the old Watling Street, and a line drawn through the north of Staffordshire, from Old Stratford to the sea, marked the limits

of the Norse power : in the north was the confederation of the seven boroughs, in the extreme east the kingdom of East Anglia which then comprised Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and parts of Rutland, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex.

It is evident from one particular stipulation of this treaty that the Saxon population had suffered severely in these wars : the Danish Lysingar or thralls, were in future to be considered on the same footing as the Saxon ceorlas or free cultivators. I argue from this that these Lysingar were presented with estates of land, made free, i. e. members of the state, and that this was done because a superabundance of land remained to be so appropriated. A defeated, even though mercifully treated enemy, could have claimed no such privilege from him who dictated the terms of peace, had not the necessity of cultivating the land defined the conditions. At this time a Danish or Norse population became predominant in East Anglia, and it is therefore remarkable that they have left so few records as they have, in the names of places : the two smallest of your hundreds are almost exclusively distinguished by places marked by the characteristic *bý* of the north, and we must therefore conclude that the numerous places not so characterized and which can be identified in the Saxon charters (comprising the name of nearly every parish you have, and their name is legion) had been previously founded and peopled by Saxons. From this time also the nobles of East Anglia, bearing Scandinavian names, first appear in Saxon documents. I have alluded to the successful career of Ælfred's daughter Æðelflæd. It was Æðelstân however who succeeded in ruining the Norse power, and when England was united in one kingdom in his hand, East Anglia lost entirely an independence which was dearly purchased with isolation.

But the fusion of different races and once hostile political bodies is not an easy thing. Mercia and East Anglia long felt that they did not belong to Wessex, although the king of Wessex might be king of England. The key to the troublous events of Eádwig's and Æðelred's reigns is partly to be found in this. Dunstân would hardly have triumphed had Mercia been truly incorporated with Wessex : nor would Cnut have reigned had East Anglia not held out her arms to the Danish Swegen. The revolution which tore the provinces north of the Thames from the sceptre of Eádwig, and which rendered

the restoration of monkery in England possible, was in reality not so much a religious as a national revolution: and the ruin of the imbecile Æðelred was the evidence of an unquenched nationality in Scandinavian East Anglia. With Æðelstân again commences the series of bishops: and the first to whom I shall call your attention is ðeôðred.

There were two prelates of this name, and some confusion has arisen in the Anglo-Saxon episcopal fasti, from the fact of their immediate succession in the see, of which they were the fourteenth and fifteenth bishops, as well as the fact of a bishop of London of the same name being contemporary with at least the latter of them.

The principal question has been, whether in reality the ðeôðred bishop of London and ðeôðred bishop of East Anglia were not the same person. Upon this point very different opinions have been maintained. Henry Wharton, however, in his *Historia de episcopis et decanis Londinensibus*, p. 28, admits their identity: he says of ðeôðred:

“The registers of Bury abbey<sup>k</sup> assert him to have been previously bishop of Elmham; and both Malmsbury and Diceto appear to have been of this opinion. For he relates that Theodred of London punished capitally certain thieves who were violating the church of St. Edmund; and the same author tells us this was done by Theodred of Elmham. Besides, the *Historia Londinensis* distinctly asserts him to have been previously bishop of Elmham, and to have held the see of London in 944, 948. But the best of all testimony is supplied by the very ancient short history of the passion of St. Edmund and foundation of the abbey at Bury<sup>l</sup>, in which these words occur: *King Edmund, son of King Edweard the first, gave to St. Edmund and his clerks the vill of Bedricesworth, in the year 945. Then St. Theodred, bishop of Elmham and afterwards of London, gave them Newton, Wepstede, Horingsherth, and Helworth, which the monks afterwards exchanged for Elnedene. He also gave them Southreie and a part of Barton Magna. It was he who caused the thieves to be hung, who had attempted to break into St. Edmund's church, but who were miraculously prevented. He was also a witness of the incorrupt state of St. Edmund's body, &c.* Two Theodreds held the see of Elmham in this century. It is clear that the first of these did not come to it till after the year 955; for according to Florence of Worcester Æðelwulf ruled the see in the time of King Edwig. Ælfric succeeded him, and then the first Theodred. I should therefore be inclined to think that the see of Elmham was vacant for some time after the death of Wilred, who was consecrated in 870; Æðelwulf who succeeded him was consecrated by Archbishop Odo. During this vacancy,

<sup>k</sup> Monast. i. p. 293, 294.

<sup>l</sup> Bibl. Lamb.

which may have been a long one, the bishops of London administered the neighbouring bishopric of Elmham; especially as East Anglia, having shaken off the Danish yoke, returned into the power of the Angles in 921<sup>m</sup>. Hence Theodred bishop of London may have been called bishop of Elmham by the above mentioned historians."

A few remarks upon this passage of Wharton may be permitted: it is in the main accurate, but here and there are points which require attention. There is no doubt that the see was vacant for nearly a century. It will be remembered that previous to the Danish invasion, and the death of Eâdmund, East Anglia had two bishops, one at Dummoc, now Dunwich, one at Elmham. In 870, the year in which the Danes slew Eâdmund, Hunberht was bishop of Elmham, Dunwich was probably vacant. According to some accounts Hunberht fell with his master<sup>a</sup>; nor was there another bishop in East Anglia for more than eighty years, when Æðelwulf was consecrated by Archbishop Oda, and the two sees united in one. In fact the compelled Christianity of Guthorm and his followers, whom Ælfred suffered to take possession of the country, did not hold out any very secure prospects to a bishop, and till some time after 921, paganism was very probably the profession of a majority in East Anglia. But I am of opinion that Wharton is entirely wrong in placing Wilred's consecration in the year 870: to me it is perfectly obvious that his election took place at least forty-five years earlier. The first time I meet with Hunberht's signature is in 824: he was present with Wermund of Dunwich at a synod held in that year at Cloveshoo under the presidency of Beornwulf king of Mercia, and Wulfred archbishop of Canterbury<sup>c</sup>. In 825, Wermund appears to have died and Wilred to have succeeded him: a very important council or parliament was held at Cloveshoo in that year under Beornwulf and Wulfred, in which the clergy of Canterbury brought their action against the heirs of Cênwulf the Mercian, and recovered certain lands from Cwenðrýð. The acts of this council were signed in the most solemn manner by Cwenðrýð, Beornwulf, Wulfred, twelve bishops, six abbots, twelve dukes or ealdormen, and many other laymen and clerks. Among the bishops are Hunberht and Wilred, the latter of whom

<sup>m</sup> Chron. Sax.

<sup>a</sup> Rog. Wendover a. 870. vol. i. pp. 308.

—312. Passus est autem cum sanctissimo

rege Eâdmundo comes eius indiuiduus, Helmhamensis episcopus, etc.

• Cod. Dipl., No. 218.

adopts the addition *electus*, bishop elect, the usual form in England before consecration<sup>p</sup>. As however he was present in the same year at another court, and signed without the *electus*, it is probable that he received consecration from Wulfred in 825<sup>q</sup>. In the year 839 we again find the names of Hunberht and Wilred as attesting witnesses to what may be almost called a treaty of peace between the family of Egberht and the see of Canterbury<sup>r</sup>. From this time the name of Wilred vanishes altogether. That of Hunberht however is found in 840, 844, and 845<sup>s</sup>, but it is extremely doubtful in all three cases whether we ought not to read Tûnberht, who was bishop of Lichfield at that period. My opinion then is, that after the accession of Æðelwulf in 839, East Anglia had but little communication with the other English kingdoms, and that the gradual ruin of Mercia by the Danes relieved the East Anglian bishop from attendance upon the royal court, until the new consolidation of England by Æðelstân, when Elmham again took its place among the English sees. If it be true that Hunberht filled it in 870, he must have been in the enjoyment of the episcopal dignity for at least forty-six years.

On the other hand I see no very good reason to suppose that after 921, East Anglia had not bishops of its own, or that the see was administered by the bishop of London. On the contrary we have Æðelwulf who was consecrated by Oda not later than 955, and although the ancient MS. lists which Wharton had consulted placed him before the two ðeôðreds, if two there were, it is equally my firm conviction that he succeeded and did not precede them. Here the charters supply us with very important evidence: let us see how the events really followed.

In 921 Eâdweard, Ælfred's son, completely reduced the East Anglians to subjection: the details are given in the Saxon Chronicle at considerable length. In 925 Eâdweard died, and was succeeded by Æðelstân. In 926 we already meet with Bishop ðeôðred<sup>t</sup>, whose signature is the second in the list of the bishops. In 927 we have a charter of Æðelstân's which is liable to some doubt<sup>u</sup>, and here the first signature after that of Archbishop Wulfhelm is ðeôðred, bishop of

<sup>p</sup> Cod. Dipl., No. 220.

<sup>q</sup> Ib., 219.

<sup>r</sup> Ib., 240.

<sup>s</sup> Ib., 242, 257, 258.

<sup>t</sup> Ib., 1099.

<sup>u</sup> Ib., 344.

London. In 929 a genuine charter of Æðelstân is signed by Deôðred in the second place after the archbishop<sup>x</sup>. In 930 another doubtful charter of the same king<sup>y</sup> is signed by Deôðred without addition. Again in 929, Deôðred signed a charter of the same king, in the fourth place, that is, after the two archbishops and the bishop of Winchester<sup>z</sup>. In another suspicious document of 930, we find Deôðred in the fifth place, after the two archbishops and two bishops<sup>a</sup>, and in a third of 930, equally suspicious, we find him in the sixth place<sup>b</sup>, that is after the two archbishops and three other bishops; while in a fourth of the same year, he again recovers his second place<sup>c</sup>. On the 23rd of March, 931, we find his signature in the eighth place among the bishops<sup>d</sup>, and he occupies the same position in another of the 21st of July, in the same year<sup>e</sup>. On the 12th of November of the same year he signed in the thirteenth place<sup>f</sup>. A doubtful charter of the same year<sup>g</sup> places him immediately after Archbishop Wulfhelm: so does another equally doubtful document<sup>h</sup> of the same year. On the 30th of August, 932, he signs in the sixth place, after the two archbishops and three bishops<sup>i</sup>. Again in 932 we find him in the tenth place<sup>k</sup>. In a genuine charter of 933 he signs in the third place after Wulfhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ælfheâh, bishop of Winton, as Deôðred, bishop of London<sup>l</sup>. On the 28th of May, 934, he appeared in a very full parliament, and his name occurs seventh in the list of archbishops and bishops<sup>m</sup>. On the 16th of December, in the same year, we find his name immediately after those of the two archbishops<sup>n</sup>. So again in 935<sup>o</sup>. A very questionable charter of December 20th, 935, places his signature as bishop of London, after those of the two archbishops and Burhric of Rochester; and this document includes the name of Æðelgâr as bishop of East Anglia<sup>p</sup>. In 937 we again find his name after those of Wulfhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ælfheâh of Winchester<sup>q</sup>, in 938 after that of Wulfhelm alone<sup>r</sup>, again

<sup>x</sup> Ib., 347.<sup>y</sup> Ib., 348.<sup>z</sup> Ib., 348.<sup>a</sup> Ib., 349.<sup>b</sup> Ib., 351.<sup>c</sup> Ib., 352.<sup>d</sup> Ib., 1102.<sup>e</sup> Ib., 1103.<sup>f</sup> Ib., 353.<sup>g</sup> Ib., 354.<sup>h</sup> Ib., 355.<sup>i</sup> Ib., 1107.<sup>k</sup> Ib., 1108.<sup>l</sup> Ib., 362.<sup>m</sup> Ib., 314.<sup>n</sup> Ib., 1110.<sup>o</sup> Ib., 1111.<sup>p</sup> Ib., 1112.<sup>q</sup> Ib., 1115.<sup>r</sup> Ib., 370.



in 938 after Wulfhelm and Ælfheâh<sup>a</sup>, after Wulfhelm alone<sup>c</sup>, after Wulfhelm and Ælfheâh<sup>d</sup>. In 939, we find him four times after Wulfhelm and Ælfheâh<sup>e</sup>, and twice immediately after the archbishop<sup>f</sup>. In seven charters of Eâdmund dated 740, Deôdred's name appears next to the archbishop and before Winchester<sup>g</sup>. His signature again occurs in four charters of the year 941<sup>a</sup>, in four of 942<sup>b</sup>, in five of 943<sup>c</sup>, in five of 944<sup>d</sup>, in 945 three times<sup>e</sup>, in 946 three times<sup>f</sup>, in 947 six times<sup>g</sup>, in 948 six times<sup>h</sup>, in 949 four times<sup>i</sup>, in 951 once<sup>k</sup>, in 955<sup>l</sup>; and this is the last time that his name appears in the charters. He has thus been found not less than 79 times between the years 926 and 951, and in the later charters almost universally with the addition of his see, viz., London. This, it will be observed, is consonant with the assertion of the *Chronica Londinensis* that Deôdred was bishop of London in 944, 948.

Now no sooner does the name of Deôdred vanish from the charters but that of Æðulf or Æðelwulf appears in them; and though some difficulty arises from the want of clear distinction between him and a contemporaneous bishop of Hereford of the same name, yet it cannot be doubted that the name which occurs in numerous charters of this period is really that of the East Anglian prelate.

The most clear and convincing proof however of Deôdred's having filled the see of Elmham is found in his will: among the alms which he devises to be distributed after his decease, he gives a legacy to his episcopal see (*biscopstôc*) at St. Paul's, London, and a similar sum to his see at Hoxne, a place still bearing that name in Suffolk.

The will is altogether a document of interest, and you will perhaps allow me to add a translation of it at length.

<sup>a</sup> Ib., 1116.

<sup>c</sup> Ib., 371.

<sup>d</sup> Ib., 1117.

<sup>e</sup> Ib., 377, 378, 1120, 1122.

<sup>f</sup> Ib., 1123, 1124.

<sup>g</sup> Ib., 380, 385, 1131, 1133, 1134, 1136, 1137.

<sup>h</sup> Ib., 390, 1138—1140.

<sup>i</sup> Ib., 391, 392, 1142, 1143.

<sup>c</sup> Ib., 394, 395, 1145—1147.

<sup>d</sup> Ib., 397, 399, 401, 1148, 1151.

<sup>e</sup> Ib., 403, 404, 1154.

<sup>f</sup> Ib., 408, 411, 412.

<sup>g</sup> Ib., 413, 416, 1156—1159.

<sup>h</sup> Ib., 418, 422, 423, 1161, 1163, 1164.

<sup>i</sup> Ib., 424—427.

<sup>k</sup> Ib., 430.

<sup>l</sup> Ib., 435.



THE WILL OF BISHOP DEODRED OF LONDON IN SAXON  
AND IN ENGLISH.

In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi! Ic Deôdred Lundenware biscop wille bequeðen mîne quiðen mînes erfes ðe ic begeten habbe and get bigete, Godes pances and his hâlegen, for mîne sôule and for mîn lôuerde ðat ic under bigeat, and for mîn eldrene, and for alle ðe mannes sôule ðe ic fore pingie, and ic almesne underfongen habbe, and me sie rihtlike for tô bidden. Ðat is ðan êrst ðat he an his lôuerd his heregete, ðat is ðanne tuâ hund mancasa rede goldes, and tuâ cuppes siluerene, and four hors sô ic best habbe, and tô suerde sô ic best habbe, and foure schelda and foure spera; and ðat lond ðat ic habbe at Ankeswrt, and ðat lond ðat ic habbe at Illyngtone, and ðat lond ðat ic habbe at Ear-mington.

And ic un Eâdgiue fifti marcas redes goldes. And intô Sancte Paules kyrke mîne tô beste messe-haclon ðe hic habbe, mid alle ðe ðinge ðe ðêretô birið, mid calice and ða cuppe; and mîne beste massebôc and alle mîne reliquias ðe ic best habbe intô Paules kirke. And ic an ðat land at Tit intô seynte Paules kirke ðen hewen tô bêdlande mid al ðat ðêron stant, bûten ðe men ðe ðer aren frê men alle for mîne sôule. And ic an ðat lond at Sûðereye mid alle ðe fiscoðe ðe ðêrtô bireð ðen hewen intô sancte Paules kirke, and frie men ðo men for ðe biscopes sôule. And Deôdred biscop an ðat lond at Tillinghâm intô sancte Paules kirke ðo hewen

In the name of Jesus Christ our Lord! I Theodred, bishop of the Londoners, will declare my will concerning the property which I have acquired, and yet am acquiring, for the sake of God and His saints, for my own soul, and for my lord under whom I acquired it, and for my forefathers, and for the souls of all the men for whom I intercede, according to the alms which I have received, and for whom it is just that I should pray. The first of all then was, that he granted his lord, his heriot, namely two hundred marks of red gold, and two silver cups, and four horses, the best I have, and two swords, the best I have, and four shields, and four spears; and the land that I have at Anks-worth, and the land I have at Illington, and the land I have at Ermington.

And I give to Edith, fifty marks of red gold. And to St. Paul's church the two best mass-vestments which I have, with all the things that thereunto belong, with the chalice and one cup; and my best missal and all my reliques, the best I have, to St. Paul's church. And I grant the land at Tit, to the brotherhood of St. Paul's church, for the maintenance of their table, with all that standeth on the land, save that all the serfs shall be emancipated for my soul's sake. And I grant the land in Surrey, with all the fishery that thereunto belongeth, to the brotherhood of St. Paul's church,

tô here, and frê men ðo men for mîne sôule. And ic an ðat lond at Dûnemowe ouer mîne day intô sancte Paules kirke ðen hewen. And ic an ðat lond at Mendhâm Osgôte mîne sustres sune ouer mîne day, bûten ic wille ðat se minstre and hîde landes at Myndhâm tô ðære kirke. And ic an ðat lond at Scotford and Mydicahâm intô Myndhâm kirke, ðo Godes hewen. And ic an Osgot ðat lond at Silhâm and at Isestede, and at Chikeringe, and at Aysfeld and at Wrtinhâm, and alle ðe small lond ðat ðeretô bereð. And ic an ðat lond at Horham and at Elyngtone intô Hoxne intô sancte Æðelbrichtes kirke, ðen Godes hewen. And ic an ðat lond at Luðinglonde Offe mîne sustres sune, and his brôðor, and frê men ðo men halve, and at Mindhâm, alsô for ðe bisscopes sôule. And ic an Osgote mîne mey Eâdulfes sune, ðat lond at Bertûne and at Buchâm and at Pakenhâm. And ic an ðat lond at Newetûne and at Horningeshâð and at Ikewrð and at Wepstede intô sancte Eâdmundes kirke, ðen Godes hewen tô âre, for Ðeôðred bisscopes sôule. And ic an ðat lond at Waldringfeld Osgote mîne sustres sune, and mîn hage ðat ic binnin Gypeswîch bouhte. And ic an Wlstân ðat lond at Wrthâm so it stant. And ic an intô eueri bisscopes stole fîf pund tô dêlen for mîne sôule. And ic an ðen archebiscophe fîf marces goldes. And ic an at Hoxne, at mîne biscoprîche, ðat man dele .x. pund for mîne sôule; and ic wille ðat men nieme ðat erfe ðat at Hoxne stand, ðat ic ðertô bigeten hadde, and dele it man on tô, half intô ðe minstre, and [half man] dele for mîn sôule. And lete mon stonden

and let all the serfs be emancipated for the benefit of the bishop's soul. And Bishop Theodred grants the land at Tillingham to St. Paul's church as a possession for the brotherhood, and be the serfs emancipated for my soul's sake. And I grant the land at Dunmow, after my day, to the brotherhood of St. Paul's church. And I grant the land at Mendham to Osgot my sister's son, after my day, save that I will the minster and the hide of land at Mendham to the church. And I grant the land at Scotford and Mydicaham to Mendham church for God's family there. And I grant Osgot the land at Silham and at Isetead and Chickering, Ashfield and Wortingham, and all the small parcels of land that thereunto belong. And I grant the land at Horham, and Elington into Hoxne, to the family of God at St. Æthelberht's church. And I grant the land at Luthingland to Offa my sister's son, and his brother, and let half the serfs be emancipated, and likewise at Mendham, for the bishop's soul. And I grant my kinsman Osgot, Eâdwulf's son, the land at Barton, at Bookham, and at Pakenham. And I grant the land at Newton, and at Horningsbeath, and Ickworth, and Wepstead, to St. Edmund's church, as a possession for God's family there, for the soul of Bishop Theodred. And to Osgot my sister's son I give the land at Waldringfield, and the tenement which I purchased in Ipswich. And I give Wolstan the land at Wortham, as it stands. And to every bishop's see I give five pounds, to be distributed for my soul's sake; and to the archbishop I give five marks of

sô mikel sô ic ðêron fond, and frê men ðo men alle for mîne sôule. And ic wille ðat men lete stonden at Lundene byri sô mikel sô ic ðêron fond, and mîne ðat ic ðêrtô bigat, man dêle on tô, half intô ðe minstre and half for mîne sôule, and frê men alle ðo men, and dô men ðat ilke at Wunemannedûne and on Sceon, and lete men stonden at Fullenhâm sô it nû stant, bûton hwyne mîne manne frê wille, and on Denesige let stonden sô mikel sô ic ðêron fond, and dêle it mon on tô, halfe into ðe minstre and half for mîne sôule. And ic an intô Glastingabyri. v. pund for mîne soule. And ic an Deôdred mîn wîte massehakele ðe ic on Pauie bouhte and al ðat ðêrtô bireð, and simbelcalice and ðêre messeboç ðe Gosebricht me biquað. And ic an Ordgâr ðêre gewele massehakele ðe ic on Pauie bouhte and ðat ðêrtô bireð. And ic an Gundwine ðêr óðer gewele massehakele, ðat is ungerenad, and ðat ðe ðertô bireð. And ic [an] Spratacke ðe rede messehakele, and al ðat ðêrtô birið. And wô sô mîne cuyde oftê, God him oftê heuene riches, bûten he it êr his ende it bête.

Cod. Dipl., No. 957. vol. iv. p. 291.

gold. And I grant at Hoxne, at my bishopric, that ten pounds shall be distributed for my soul; and I will that they shall take the property that is found at Hoxne, that, namely, which I have acquired thereunto, and divide it in two, half to the minster, and let half be distributed for my soul. And let them leave as much as I found there, and be all the serfs emancipated for my soul. And I will that ye shall let stand at London as much as I found thereon; and my own that I acquired thereunto, let them divide in two, half to the minster, and half for my soul, and let them free all the serfs: and let them do the like at Wimbledon, and Sheen; and let all things at Fulham stand as they now are, except ye will emancipate any of my serfs, and at Daunsey let stand as much as I found thereon, and [the rest] divide in two, half to the minster, and half for my soul. And I grant to Glastonbury five pounds for my soul. And I grant Deôdred my white mass-vestment which I bought in Pavia, and all that thereunto belongeth, and a chalice and the missal which Gosberht bequeathed me. And I grant Ordgar the yellow vestment which I bought in Pavia, and what belongeth thereto. And I grant Gundwine the other yellow vestment which is untrimmed, and what belongeth thereto. And I grant Sprattack the red vestment, and all that belongeth thereto. And he that turneth aside my will, may God turn him aside from heaven's kingdom, unless he make compensation before his death.

From a Register of Bury St. Edmunds. Bibl. Publ. Cantab.

I shall content myself at present with calling attention to the very remarkable fact of Æthelred having early in the tenth century possessed the *jus gladii*, or power of inflicting capital punishment for offences committed within his jurisdiction. The remaining bishops will not occupy our attention ; little is known of them till the time of Stigand, a successful intriguer, who filled in succession several sees, among them East Anglia, and finally attained the metropolitan dignity of Canterbury. A list of the prelates however is appended, chronologically arranged as accurately as our present means will permit, which it is hoped will not be an uninteresting addition to the Fasti of our English Church.

I. M. K.

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### THE BISHOPS OF EAST ANGLIA<sup>a</sup>.

In the reign of the most Christian king of the East Angles, Sigebert, Fœlix, the bishop, by birth a Burgundian, converted the East Angles to the faith of Christ: and becoming their first prelate, accepted an episcopal see in the town of Dunwich.

#### NAMES OF THE EAST ANGLIAN BISHOPS.

I. Fœlix<sup>b</sup>.  
II. Thomas<sup>c</sup>.

III. Berhtgils, also called  
Bonifacius<sup>d</sup>.  
IV. Bisi<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> From the Appendix to Florence of Worcester's Chronicle.

<sup>b</sup> From A.D. 636 to 647, when he died.

<sup>c</sup> From 647 to 652.

<sup>d</sup> From 652 to 669.

<sup>e</sup> From 669 to 674.

## AFTERWARDS EAST ANGLIA IS DIVIDED INTO TWO DIOCESES.

## Names of the bishops of Elmham.

- I. Beadwine<sup>f</sup>.
- II. Northberht<sup>g</sup>.
- III. Heatholac<sup>h</sup>.
- IV. Æthelferth<sup>i</sup>.
- V. Eanferth<sup>k</sup>.
- VI. Æthelwulf<sup>l</sup>.
- VII. Hunferth<sup>m</sup>.
- VIII. Sibba<sup>n</sup>.
- IX. Hunferth<sup>o</sup>.
- X. Hunberht<sup>p</sup>.

## Names of the bishops of Dunwich.

- I. Æcce<sup>q</sup>.
- II. Æscwulf.
- III. Eardred.
- IV. Cuthwine.
- V. Aldberht<sup>r</sup>.
- VI. Ecglaf<sup>s</sup>.
- VII. Heardred<sup>t</sup>.
- VIII. Ælfhun<sup>u</sup>.
- IX. Tidferth<sup>x</sup>.
- X. Wermund<sup>y</sup>.
- XI. Wilred<sup>z</sup>.

In the time of Ludeca, king of the Mercians, and Ecgberht, king of the West Saxons, Hunberht and Wilred discharged the episcopal functions in East Anglia.

XII. Athulf. He in the time of Eadwig was sole bishop of East Anglia; and so were his successors<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> From 674 till beyond 693.

<sup>g</sup> Living in 706.

<sup>h</sup> Living in 731.

<sup>i</sup> Consecrated in 736, and still alive in 742.

<sup>k</sup> In the great council of Cloveshoo in 742, Eanferð, as well as Æðelferð, appeared and signed as bishops, one perhaps as a coadjutor or chorepiscopus to the other.

<sup>l</sup> Living in 781.

<sup>m</sup> This name, which does not occur in all the lists, appears to me to be entirely erroneous, and to have been substituted by mistake for that of Alhhard or Ealhheard, who really was the seventh bishop of Elmham. His name occurs in several charters between 788 and 805; and in 803 he was present as bishop of Elmham, at Æðelheard's celebrated synod, which abrogated the archbishopric of Lichfield. See Cod. Dipl. No. 1024.

<sup>n</sup> Sibba was present, together with eleven other bishops, at Witenagemots in the years 814, 816. See Cod. Dipl. No. 207, 210.

<sup>o</sup> Hunferð made his canonical profession of obedience to Archbishop Wulfred, who filled the see of Canterbury from 805 to 829. He probably died before 826.

<sup>p</sup> Ludeca was king of Mercia only during a short period, perhaps not more

than a few months of the year 827: this however is enough to justify the assertion that Hunberht was bishop of Elmham during his reign. The legend of St. Eadmund tells us that Hunberht fell with his royal master under the sword of the Danes in 870; attributing to him an episcopate of unusual length, but one not at all unexampled among the Anglo-Saxons.

<sup>q</sup> At this point I return to the bishops of Dummoc, now Dunwich. Of Æcci we know only that he was appointed in 674, on the division of the see.

<sup>r</sup> The bishops between Æcci and Eadberht are without record. Eadberht, for so the name should unquestionably be written, held the see in 731 with Heaðolac.

<sup>s</sup> Ecglaf was present in 742 at the council of Cloveshoo, with Eanfrið and Æðelferð.

<sup>t</sup> Living in 781. He died in 790.

<sup>u</sup> Succeeded in 790, and died in 797.

<sup>x</sup> Succeeded in 797, and died shortly after 814. He was present at the solemn council of 803.

<sup>y</sup> Died in 824.

<sup>z</sup> Succeeded in 825, but the time of his death is uncertain.

<sup>a</sup> This entry is evidence against itself. Eadwig did not come to the throne till

- XIII. Ælfric<sup>b</sup>.  
 XIV. Theodred<sup>c</sup>.  
 XV. Theodred.  
 XVI. Æthelstan<sup>d</sup>.  
 XVII. Ælfgar<sup>e</sup>.  
 XVIII. Ælfwine<sup>f</sup>.  
 XIX. Ælfric<sup>g</sup>.  
 XX. Ælfric.  
 XXI. Stigand<sup>h</sup>, but forthwith expelled.  
     In whose place  
 XXII. Grimcytel<sup>i</sup> elected for gold. He had then two bishoprics, those of the South Saxons and the East Angles: but he was afterwards expelled, and  
 XXIII. Stigand was received.  
 XXIV. Ægelmar<sup>k</sup>, Stigand's brother.

956, and in the year 964 I find an Æðelwulf among the subscribers to various charters. But this must have been a bishop of East Anglia, and the entry is accurate in so far, only the note which belongs to one prelate has been given to another. In 851, nearly twenty years before the subversion of East Anglia by the Danes, we do find an Æðelwulf, a bishop of that diocese, or one of the dioceses, though we cannot say which. Perhaps he followed Wilred.

<sup>b</sup> Ælfric was not bishop till after the death of Theodred, who held London and East Anglia together. He signed a charter in 966.

<sup>c</sup> Enough has been said of this prelate in the text. It is very uncertain whether there was a second of the name, but yet not improbable, as a wide space remains to be filled between Theodred and Æðelstan. It is not altogether impossible that the second see may have from time to

time attempted to revive itself. About 942 I find a bishop Eadwulf, whom I hardly know how to dispose of except at Dunwich.

<sup>d</sup> He died in 996.

<sup>e</sup> Consecrated in 1001, died in 1021.

<sup>f</sup> Consecrated in 1021, died in 1029.

<sup>g</sup> These two Ælfrics are doubtful: but if there were two, their tenure of the episcopate was very short. The second died in 1038.

<sup>h</sup> Elected 1038, consecrated in 1039, and shortly after expelled.

<sup>i</sup> Grimcytel took the see, perhaps in *commendam*, and held it till 1044, when Stigand returned.

<sup>k</sup> Elected in 1047. It is to be lamented that this, as well as other episcopal lists of the Saxon Church, should be in a confused and very imperfect condition; and now, I fear, little hope exists of our being able to restore it satisfactorily.

## ON THE PART TAKEN BY NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK IN THE REFORMATION.

It has been observed by Huber, in his History of the English Universities, that much of the peculiarity of the political and social contests of England may be traced to the distinct provincial character, or rather distinct national existence, which divided in early times the northern and southern parts of the country. This theory has doubtless been carried in his work to a fanciful excess, and probably the signs of the division were more visible in the Universities than they were in the affairs of the nation generally. Still it opens an interesting field of enquiry, which neither historians nor antiquarians have sufficiently explored, how far in the course of English history we can trace a distinct and continuous influence exercised upon it by the several provinces of England. It would be interesting in itself, as giving a new meaning and importance to many local associations and traditions which are now regarded only as isolated curiosities; and it would be instructive in a more general point of view, as shewing what heterogeneous elements have been fused together to make up the English nation, and as impressing upon us by way of contrast how many exclusive rights and privileges, which these separate elements may have justly claimed once, have since their amalgamation been no less justly swept away.

Such a task seems naturally to fall within the range of the Archæological Institute; the more so from the migratory habits which bring it from time to time in contact with these defunct centres of national life. It will often indeed happen that these centres may not coincide with the spots to which antiquarian interest will be most directed; or again that their spheres will not be marked out with sufficient distinctness to enable them to be dwelt upon at length. But six or seven such there must surely be which would well repay the investigation. Such was Winchester; such was York; such was Norwich.

To the last alone these remarks are confined; nor even in speaking of this last do they profess to treat of more than a very small branch of the subject, though any one better



acquainted with it would doubtless find in it one of the most striking examples of what has just been observed. The very city itself, encircled by the low ranges which form the valley of the Wensom, rising on its broken hills, itself encircling with its many towers the castle and cathedral, bears on its face the aspect of the metropolis of East Anglia. East Anglia,—(for so one may be excused for calling the two counties which still derive their names from the northern and southern divisions of that ancient “Folk” or nation,)—East Anglia is by its geographical position even still more distinctly marked out as destined to play its own part in the history of the country of which it forms not so much a feature as an excrescence. Separated<sup>a</sup> in ancient times from the rest of Britain by the wide expanse of marshes which formed its boundary on the west, and which were yet more closely connected with each other by the river-broads<sup>a</sup>, still peculiar to Norfolk and Suffolk, it hardly needed the huge rampart which under the early Saxon kings crossed its narrow isthmus in what is still known as the Devil’s Dyke, to give it that isolated character which throughout the world has belonged to the peninsula hardly less than to the island. This was one peculiarity; a peculiarity, however, which it would share with any other part of England, which from whatever cause was divided by natural barriers from national intercourse—with Wales for example, with the mountaineers of the north, or with the promontory of Cornwall. But, unlike those remote districts, whilst it was separated from inland districts, and therefore to a certain degree thrown apart from the main course of inland civilization, it was peculiarly accessible to the influences of the neighbouring continent. Protruding so far into the German ocean as to afford the nearest landing-place for the tribes of the opposite shores, and at the same time, by its flat plains and its then immense estuaries, seeming to invite the invader to an easy conquest, we cannot wonder that throughout the ages when the dangers of navigation rendered a rapid transit the first condition of a successful voyage, East Anglia should have become the stepping-stone of the German, as the Channel Islands were termed by Napoleon the stepping-stones of the French, or as the western extremities of Cornwall and Scotland received the first missionaries from Ireland—the halting place where the first Teutonic conquerors paused

<sup>a</sup> See Palgrave’s History of England, vol. i. p. 41.

on their march westward, as the plains of Pevensey and Hastings became the natural encampment of the Norman. Such a position at once inclines us to confide in the result of the most recent investigations<sup>b</sup> respecting the first inhabitants and the first invaders of this district. It justifies the interest with which, as we look eastward from the top of Ely cathedral, we may feel that over that vast expanse of plain, as far back as human knowledge extends, no other footsteps ever trod than those of our own Teutonic fathers; it enables us, as the level shore of Yarmouth, with its now shrunken river, stretches before us, to conceive how it was that there, and not on the Isle of Thanet, landed the first Saxon conqueror, whose historical existence emerges from the mist of tradition and mythology, and who here paused amongst his earlier kinsmen before he advanced to the far south-west, there to plant the name of the one Anglo-Saxon dynasty of truly immortal fame. What was thus exemplified in the very beginning of our history has been exemplified to a certain extent ever since, till the latest traces of a peculiar provincial character have been effaced by the great changes of the last fifty years. Long after German conquerors and Danish pirates had ceased to invade our shores, the peaceful connexion of commerce still continued with that portion of the German continent, to which, from the circumstance of its being the only part thus brought into close relation with ourselves<sup>c</sup>, we gave the name of the whole nation. The Dutch congregation at Norwich, the Dutch aspect of Yarmouth and its neighbouring marshes, and the Flemish settlement of Worsted, each with their enormous churches, indicative of their ancient importance, still exhibit

<sup>b</sup> It will be seen that reference is here made to the interesting communications on the subject of Cerdic in the "Notes on the Bishops" by Mr. Kemble, printed in this volume.

<sup>c</sup> The name of "Dutch," applied by the English to the nation called by themselves and by the Germans, after their own country of "Holland," as is well known, is that by which the German nation call themselves "Deutschen" "Deutschland." For a similar nomenclature, arising from similar circumstances, compare the names of "Asia" and of "Africa," bestowed by the Romans on the small districts in Asia Minor and in the neighbour-

hood of Carthage, to which respectively they gave those appellations as being the parts of the two great continents with which they themselves first come into close connexion. So by a reverse process, though perhaps yet more closely resembling the case in question, the name of "Andaloz," or "the Land of the West," or "of the Vandals," whichever interpretation is adopted, originally given by the Arabs to the whole of Spain, was gradually confined, as their kinsmen in Spain were driven southward, to their last refuge in the kingdom of Granada, which is still known by the name of Andalusia.

traces of the direct influx of the German element into East Anglia for centuries after it had ceased to affect the rest of England.

Now it is obvious that this circumstance must impress upon East Anglian history an interest of its own. It is not only that it enables us to recognise its primitive inhabitants as brethren of the same Teutonic family to which we ourselves belong, at a time when with the rest of the natives of the British Isles we have, as it has been remarked, "no more concern, nationally speaking, than with the natural history of the animals that inhabited our forests;" but it also leads us to find in these isolated counties, at a period when almost all beside was dead and lifeless, a spring of intelligence and activity,—rude, headstrong, and turbulent, as might be expected, when compared with the more cultivated and accessible regions of the south of England,—but still with the strength and vivacity natural to those who dwelt within sight of the "eternal freshness and liveliness of ocean," and that ocean not the barren waste of waters which in those times bounded the western coast of our island, but the highway to the shores of the great kindred nation which has been the well-spring of intellectual life to the kingdoms of northern Europe.

To trace this peculiar character of East Anglia in its bearing on the whole course of English history, to examine how far any thing of this cross between the stationary element produced by its isolation on the one hand, and the progressive influence produced by its maritime situation on the other hand, can be detected in the scenes of the great insurrection of the citizens of Norwich in the thirteenth century, or in the part which they took in the disturbances of Wat Tyler, or subsequently of the two great civil wars, is beyond the purpose of these remarks. They relate only to the part played by the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk in the great convulsion of the Reformation, which more than any other period of English history brings out the distinctive character of the component elements of the nation, sufficiently united at that time to take a common interest in an event of such general national interest, yet still sufficiently independent of each other to exhibit their own peculiar idiosyncrasies.

It has been often remarked that the Reformation in England did not become the popular cause throughout the country

till after the indignation excited against the opposite party by the fires of Smithfield. London indeed, and possibly some other of the great towns, were strongly Protestant, but the country at large during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. was either apathetic or hostile. Such, however, was not the case with East Anglia. In spite of the strong counter-influence of the powerful duke of Norfolk, and the excessive severity of Nix, the last Roman Catholic bishop of Norwich, we find that the middle and even the lower classes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and we may add Cambridgeshire, took up the cause of the Reformation with a vehemence, which standing as it does alone in the annals of the period, must be traced to some such local circumstances as have been mentioned, through which the similar fermentation then at its height in Germany would act with peculiar force on this part of England.

It is needless to go through the proofs of this fact in detail. 'The Lollards' Pit may still be seen, where in the hollow under the steep ascent which was then crowned with St. Leonard's Priory, the sufferers were burnt at the stake, in the presence of the crowds who assembled on the hills around, which, we are told, thus served as a natural amphitheatre for the spectators to witness the dreadful spectacle<sup>d</sup>. The names of Bilney, Bale, and Parker, so closely bound up with the early history of English Protestantism, are no less closely linked with the local associations of East Anglia. Bilney was a preacher in Suffolk, endured imprisonment under the present guildhall of Norwich, and suffered on the spot just mentioned. Bale had been a member of the great monastery of the Carmelites or Whitefriars, which stood near the church of St. James in Pockthorpe. Parker was born in the parish of St. Saviour's, in the church-yard of which the tomb of his parents still remains, and has commemorated his birth-place by the Norfolk fellowships which he founded in his favourite college of Corpus Christi. And the well-known advocacy of the reforming principles by Cambridge,—then doubtless, as now, the favourite university of East Anglia, is no slight indication in the same direction,—“Cambridge,” as it has been more than once observed, “having had the honour of educating those illustrious men, whom Oxford had the honour of burning.” These and many similar facts might be adduced, but it will be better to limit

<sup>d</sup> Fox's Martyrs, in the account of Bilney.

ourselves to the two great examples of the intervention of East Anglia in the affairs of the Reformation, which are furnished to us in Kett's Rebellion during the reign of Edward VI., and the assistance rendered in Suffolk to Queen Mary during the short reign of Lady Jane Grey; the more so because these examples might seem at first sight to contradict the view just given, and because in explaining how instead of contradicting they confirm it, some points will be touched upon, which in the common representations of English history have been greatly misconceived.

I. There are few more striking moments in the history of England than the approach of the day when the use of "the old liturgy was to cease, and that of the new to begin,—when instead of the high mass, its music and its ceremonies, with which the people had been familiarized from their infancy, they were to hear what they deemed an inanimate service, 'a mere Christmas play,'—and as if this additional provocation goaded them to madness, the common people rose almost at the same time, in the counties of Wilts, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, Berks, Kent, Gloucester, Somerset, Suffolk, Warwick, Essex, Hertford, Leicester, Worcester, Rutland, . . . . Oxford, Norfolk, Cornwall, and Devon." Such is the description given of the Whitsunday of 1549 by the modern historian\*, whose opinions most naturally lead him to sympathize with the cause of the insurgents. When, therefore, we read that the most formidable part of the insurrection was that which issued in the long siege of Norwich by the vast multitudes congregated from every part of Norfolk and Suffolk by blazing beacons, and assembled under the guidance of Kett of Wymondham amongst the ruins of the ancient monastery and chapel which still bear his name† on Mousehold heath, it may well be asked how a people so favourably disposed to the cause of Protestantism as the East Anglians should have risen in arms against the reforming government of Edward VI., at the very moment when it was about to achieve its greatest triumph? The fact is that the great rebellion of the east under Kett, so curiously confounded by the histo-

\* Lingard, vol. vii. p. 48. These references are made to the foreign edition.

† The ruin known by the name of Kett's Castle belongs to what was once St. Michael's chapel, but it seems probable that both this and St. Leonard's priory

had even then been reduced much to their present position in order to make room for the palace of the Earl of Surrey, called Mount Surrey.—See Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. iii. pp. 240, 225.

rian who has just been quoted with the rebellion of the west under Arundel, had no further connexion with it than its simultaneous origin. The moment we penetrate below the surface we find that the Norfolk insurrection, so far from being a demonstration in favour of Catholicism, was in fact a demonstration in favour of Protestantism,—the child of the Reformation, not its enemy. With the theological questions of the time it had indeed only a remote alliance,—it was the social and political element of the convulsion which here found its voice,—the first cry, “inarticulate indeed and confused,” as Carlyle would say, of that great national movement of the lower and middle classes towards political freedom which in the next century issued in the Long Parliament and the Bill of Rights. It was to the English Reformation exactly what the “Peasants’ War,” the “bauer-krieg,” had been to that of Germany,—for the moment hardly less formidable to the general peace of society,—arising from a similar sense of the oppressions of a feudal aristocracy,—taking advantage in like manner of the religious troubles of the period to make itself heard,—disowned in like manner by the theologians of both nations, by Cranmer<sup>a</sup> in England and by Luther in Germany, who yet had been its unconscious parents,—headed in like manner by leaders who assumed to themselves the style of kings and the awe of prophets<sup>b</sup>,—but with this difference, that, whereas the German insurrection, after raging with the utmost violence over the whole country for a short time, expired without leaving any fruits behind, the English insurrection only reached its height in that part of the country where popular and independent feeling had been always fostered by the natural character of the province, whilst at the same time it was a symptom of a much more general and healthy state of national progress, which only needed more favourable times to realize itself in the most beneficial results. Such is the general fact which can easily be substantiated by definite proofs<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See the “Sermon on Rebellion,” in Jenkyns’ Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 248.

<sup>b</sup> Kett was called “King of Norfolk and Suffolk,” and administered justice amongst his own followers with a state at least equal to that of Thomas Munzer, but fortunately for England with far more moderation and order.—See Strype, E. A., vol. ii. c. 31; and for the prophets, see Blomefield, vol. iii. 251.

<sup>i</sup> The most detailed account of this insurrection is to be found in Alexander Neville’s “Kettus,” published in 1575, and deriving considerable weight from the fact of his intimacy with Archbishop Parker, who was present at a great part of the transactions described, and to whom the book was dedicated. It was subsequently translated into English, under the title of the “Norfolk Furies,” in 1623, and



1. The chief grievance which Kett and his followers put forward, and of which Dr. Lingard takes no notice, in connexion with this revolt, was the new enclosures and parks by which the open lands had been appropriated to the nobles and gentry, a grievance for which they were encouraged to hope for redress at this particular time, by the proclamation published early in the preceding month (May, 1549) by the Protector Somerset, enjoining that before a fixed day all such lands should be laid open again. And accordingly this was the first form which the insurrection took; all hedges and fences were thrown down by them in the neighbourhood of Norwich, and Kett was chosen as their leader, for the especial reason that he had allowed his fields at Wymondham to be laid open<sup>k</sup>.

2. In accordance with this one tangible grievance was the popular feeling which rallied round it. The "levelling of the gentry" was their avowed object,—"the gentlemen" was the name<sup>l</sup> given to their opponents,—Somerset, "the good duke," the avowed champion of popular rights, was their hope,—Warwick<sup>m</sup>, the head of the aristocratical party, was their ultimate destroyer,—"Gentlemen ruled aforetime, a number will rule now another while<sup>n</sup>," was their watchword,—and when they finally drew up their forces for the last struggle in the

is for the most part (though with a few variations, taken from Holinshed) incorporated in Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vol. iii. pp. 222—256, to which for the sake of convenience the references are mostly made. It is a remarkable instance of the possibility of arriving at true facts in spite of any attempt to pervert them. The book is written in a spirit of the bitterest hostility, and yet the impression which it leaves of Kett and his followers is certainly favourable. One example shall be given out of many. "It is reported also that some having the arrows sticking fast in their bodies, (a thing fearful to tell,) drawing them out of the green wounds with their own hands, gave them, as they were dripping with blood, to the rebels that were about them, whereby at the least they might be turned upon us again, so great a desire was there in almost all ages of spilling, and so great a thirst of shedding blood." This act, which excites so much indignation in the narrator, and is headed in the margin "a fearful and desperate cruelty," would undoubtedly in most histories be called an indication of fortitude and enthusiasm. The whole

style, as may be judged from this specimen, is in the highest degree rhetorical, and is, after the manner of the time, interlarded with imaginary speeches in imitation of the ancients. On this account probably, as well as from its connexion with the archbishop, it was by order in council commanded to the bishops to cause it to be read in all grammar-schools, in the place of heathen poets. See Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vol. iii. p. 250, where it is almost needless to point out the error which Blomefield commits in deriving Nevill's account (published in 1575) from Holinshed's (published in 1577.)

<sup>k</sup> Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vol. iii. pp. 222—225, 233.

<sup>l</sup> Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vol. iii. pp. 224, 231, 233, 239, 242, 247, 248.

<sup>m</sup> For the active part taken by Warwick, and the personal hostility against him, see the facts mentioned by Blomefield, vol. iii. pp. 256—258, as to the setting up the arms of the Ragged Staff over the city gates.

<sup>n</sup> Burnet, vol. ii. p. 259; and App. No. 6.



deep valley of Dussendale°, it was in obedience to the popular prophecy,

“ The country gnofes, Hob, Dick, and Hick,  
With clubs and clouted shoon,  
Shall fill the vale of Dussendale  
With slaughter'd bodies soon.”

It is not necessary to point out the general connexion between the growth of this anti-aristocratical feeling and the cause of the Reformation at large: it will be sufficient to shew that in this case, not only was there no opposition between the two, but a remarkable harmony. “Many Gospellers” are expressly said to have been amongst them; the order and sobriety with which their proceedings were conducted indicates more seriousness than usually accompanies a mere popular outbreak; their leader sate to administer justice amongst his rude followers under one of the huge trees of the Thorpe forest, which still clothed the heights of Mousehold, and to which was given the significant name of the Oak of Reformation<sup>a</sup>; here the morning and evening services were daily read by the vicar of “St. Martin’s on the Palace Plain”;<sup>b</sup> here on Friday they were found listening to the Litany,—the Reformed Litany as it would appear of the previous year,—and afterwards to an English Te Deum. Parker too, the future archbishop of Canterbury, addressed them with a readiness<sup>c</sup> on which he would hardly have ventured had he been called to encounter a furious body of theological opponents; and neither in this nor in his subsequent discourse in the city is there any indication of his having touched on other topics than their social discontents. The

° Blomefield’s Norfolk, vol. iii. p. 252. Is not this valley the same as that commonly called *Ossian’s Vale*—a not improbable substitute for the obscure name of *Dussendale*?

<sup>p</sup> Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 260, 264. See also Blomefield’s Norfolk, vol. iii. p. 227.

<sup>a</sup> It curiously reminds us of the more memorable oak in the forest of Vincennes. See Blomefield, vol. ii. pp. 228, 231, 255. Hollinshed calls it “the Tree of Reformation,” and omits the picturesque account preserved in Nevill (see Blomefield, vol. iii. p. 228) of the “great spread boughs over which they laid rafts and battens across, and a roof with boards.”

<sup>b</sup> Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. iii. p. 226.

<sup>c</sup> The account of Parker’s visit to the rebels is worth reading on its own account. Two characteristic traits may be observed, first, the caution of the future archbishop, whose union of kindness and sagacity was afterwards to be shewn on so much greater a stage; secondly, the musical character which even then distinguished the Norwich people, and rendered them even in this access of excitement sensible to the solemn music and distinct notes of the Te Deum, “the sweetness of which,” says the vicar of St. Martin’s, “by little and little appeased their cruel and raging minds.” See Blomefield, vol. iii. pp. 230—232.

very ridicule which they heaped on the herald's rich coat of arms, "distinct and beautiful with gold," as "being merely pieces of *popish copes* sewed together<sup>†</sup>," indicates the spirit with which the mass of the rebels was possessed.

At the same time it is perfectly possible that with the main body of the insurgents there may have been also adherents to the old religion, as is implied in the version of the proclamations, in Heylin, (*Hist. of the Reformation*, p. 77,) and Godwin, (*Annals*, 93.) on which Dr. Lingard seems to have relied for his account of the whole.

So much for Kett's rebellion, of which we may here observe in conclusion the following memorials. (1.) The utter destruction of Thorpe wood, which apparently at that time (as may be seen from the frequent allusions to the trees and thickets<sup>‡</sup>) had still covered at least the whole of the southern side of the hill, and which was now burnt down by the rebels to avoid ambushes. (2.) The Homily on Rebellion, which is supposed to have been written especially against them<sup>‡</sup>. (3.) The institution of lord lieutenants of counties, in order that no part of England might again be surprised by so sudden and formidable an insurrection<sup>‡</sup>.

II. As Norfolk figures in the first great act of the public life of East Anglia during the troubles of the Reformation, so Suffolk does in the second; and here again with an apparent paradox, which would at first sight seem in exact contradiction to the usual character of the two counties. How was it, we may ask, that in the crisis which ensued on the death of Edward VI. it should have been the aid of the most Protestant of all the English provinces, which seated on the throne the most implacable enemy of the Protestant cause who ever wore the English crown?

The flight of Mary to Kenninghall in Norfolk was indeed in the first instance decided by accident; that mansion, originally, as its name implies, the palace of the East Anglian kings, then of the dukes of Norfolk, had on the attainder of the last of that house in the reign of her father, been transferred to her own private use. Framlingham, too, where she

<sup>†</sup> Neville's Kett. If the words there are correctly given, the above must be the true interpretation. Blomefield however says, quoting from Hollinshed, that they prated that he was "set out by the gentlemen in such a gay suit, patched together

of Church vestments," and makes it a proof that the havoc made of Church ornaments was what offended the populace.

<sup>‡</sup> Blomefield, vol. iii. p. 252, 226.

<sup>‡</sup> Fuller, book ix. p. 75.

<sup>‡</sup> Strype, vol. ii. p. 178.

subsequently moved, also from earliest times a refuge for East Anglian kings, was both a royal castle, and still in the possession of her adherents in the Howard family; and this, combined with the advantage which was furnished especially by the latter place for communicating with her grandfather in Flanders, naturally determined her movement in an easterly direction. But it was the instant support which she met from the surrounding population that enabled her at once to march upon London, and assert her hereditary rights without the appeal to foreign aid, which her proximity to the coast would else have afforded. To a certain extent, no doubt, this was excited and encouraged by the local aristocracy, amongst whom we recognise the names of those families who have still adhered to the ancient form of worship; but it is impossible to mistake the spontaneous enthusiasm with which her cause was taken up by the people of Suffolk generally. The fact is, that they were but following up the same course on which they had entered in the insurrection of Kett. Mary appeared before them not in the light in which we now view her, as the "bloody" champion of the old belief, but as the representative of popular rights,—of the illustrious house of Tudor which, with all its faults, was so dear to the mass of the English nation,—against an unknown individual, who was regarded as a mere tool in the hands of the aristocratical faction, which they dreaded and detested, and which was still headed by the especial object of their suspicions, Warwick, now become Northumberland. And therefore it is with perfect truth that Julius III. declared that she obtained her throne "by those who for the most part hated to death the holy see;" (Turner's *Reign of Edward VI., and Mary*, i. 403.) The ships which were sent to Yarmouth to intercept her flight mutinied, "not so much for love to Mary as from hatred to Northumberland;" (Sleidan, i. 25, in Mackintosh, ii. 288.) The silence with which the proclamation of her rival was heard in the streets of Norwich, (ib. ii. 287,) was (if we may be pardoned the solecism) an echo of the silence with which it had been received in the streets of the metropolis, (Tytler's *Edward VI., and Mary*, ii. 189.) The army of Protestant tenants who followed their Roman Catholic landlords to join her camp at Framlingham was the counterpart to the vast body of (in many instances doubtless) Roman Catholic tenants who deserted the standard of their

Protestant landlords as they advanced against her, (Turner, i. 361, 365, 366;) and in spite of the doubts thrown upon the fact by Dr. Lingard, there seems good reason to believe that, although in their enthusiasm against the nobility, the men of Suffolk proffered their services voluntarily to Mary, they still so far remembered<sup>z</sup> the Protestant cause as to exact pledges from her that she would make no alteration in the religion established under Edward.

The government of Lady Jane Grey was overthrown by their means—but it was overthrown not on account of its Protestantism, which was accidental to its existence, but as being what it was, in truth, a conspiracy of a few ambitious and daring nobles to make themselves masters of the state.

The crown was settled on Mary, not because of her Roman Catholic leaning, but in spite of it,—not as the antagonist of Edward and Elizabeth, but as the daughter of the king who overthrew the papal supremacy in England.

A. P. S.

<sup>z</sup> See the facts stated by Dr. Lingard himself, (vii. 416, note c,) from Noailles, (iii. 16,) and the Council Book, (Archæologia, xviii. 173;) to which must be added

the testimony of Godwin to the statement made to that effect, by Lord Arundel, which induced Lord Pembroke at once to join her, (Godwin, 270, in Turner, i. 368.)

## HINTS ON THE NATURE, PURPOSE, AND RESOURCES OF TOPOGRAPHY.

BY JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

It is proposed in this communication to offer a few hints and remarks relating to a department of English literature, the works in which occupy no small space in our libraries, and are depositories of no small amount of antiquarian and historical information. I propose to lay open the kind of expectation which ought to be entertained respecting writings of this class; to shew the plan on which it seems that topographical writings for the press can be most conveniently constructed; and to introduce, perhaps somewhat discursively, notices of the principal sources of that knowledge of which every topographer ought to possess himself, but which is often difficult of access, or perhaps wholly unknown to him as the material of which his work ought to be constructed.

I have spoken of it as a branch of English literature, and it appears as if it were almost peculiar to England. We find nothing resembling it in the literature of the ancients. Whatever they have transmitted to us approaching to it is geography, not topography. The *Batavia* of the eldest Junius, and the *Britannia* of Camden, are books not so much of topography as of geography on the smallest scale, in which the greater subjects only are treated of, leaving untouched thousands of interesting objects in the countries of which they treat, and tens of thousands of facts and circumstances to the knowledge of which there ought to be that ready access which only the press affords, and with which only the true topographer supplies it. Foreign countries have most admirable histories of their cities, and most elaborate descriptions of the curious remains of the classical ages, and of many of the medieval remains. They have also excellent accounts of their monastic foundations and their ecclesiastical dignities. But the minor objects of curiosity have been too much overlooked by them; and even those which strike an Englishman as worthy to be made special subjects of historical research, such as the castles with which so many of their rocks are crowned, the

series of persons by whom they have been possessed and inhabited, the memorials of their distinguished men to be found in the rural churches of their country, and the works of art which are to be met with in such obscure depositories, seem only in a few peculiarly favoured districts to have received any attention from native writers. But we need only look to our own land: neither Scotland, nor Ireland, nor Wales, has yet found a topographer who has gone to his task with a full apprehension of its duties. It is, we repeat, a literature almost peculiarly English.

The true nature of topography may seem to be suggested by the very word, which when rendered into English is *place-description* or *district-description*, just as geography is *world-description* or *continent-description*. Yet it is not exactly so. It has fared with this word topography as with many other words, that as time passed on there have been important accessions to the idea originally betokened by it, and which alone it suggests when looked at in its etymological elements. *Place-description* or *district-description* is still a part, and a most important part, of what is meant by the word topography; but it is not the whole; for the works in English topography contain quite as much of history as they do of description: indeed of the two it may be said that there is usually more of that which is historical than of that which is descriptive, and we go to them rather for the details of the history of the past than for the present appearances.

Description, however, in accordance with the etymology, may still be regarded as the *prima linea* of topographical writing.

As far as these writings are descriptive they resemble those in the kindred subject of geography, and we cannot perhaps in any better way form in our minds an idea of what topography is or ought to be in the department of description, than by recollecting what we understand by the more familiar word geography, which is still a literature almost wholly descriptive.

The whole superficies of the globe, or at least some immense portion of it, is the subject to which the geographer applies himself. He delineates it in maps; he points out in his commentaries upon them the distribution of land and water, the continents, peninsulas, islands, promontories, ranges of mountains, the oceans, seas, gulfs, straits, and

rivers. It is the surface only which properly belongs to him, though he will sometimes invade the province of the geologist, and treat of the internal structure, but still, being sufficiently true to his subject, he treats of it mainly, as on it depends the appearances on the surface. He takes also a few broad facts relating to the distribution of animal or vegetable forms in the various climates, but he leaves to the naturalist the minute investigations to which these attractive subjects would seduce him. So with respect to mineral productions, they are within his province chiefly, if not solely, as they influence things on the surface, and particularly the employments of the people. And so also with respect to the distribution of the human race in its various tribes: he speaks not of particular families; it is only the grand divisions, or tribes, with which he intermeddles.

Still, any very remarkable deviations from that which is the general character of the world's surface the geographer thinks it his duty to describe; vast deserts of sand, primæval forests of unascertained extent, Arcadian pastures, river scenery, scenes of pre-eminent beauty or magnificence, towering cliffs, mountains covered with perpetual snow, geysers or volcanos, with the lava districts which surround them.

Nor is an accurate and complete representation of the arrangements of nature the only proper province of geography. The artificial distribution of the earth's surface, which has resulted from human occupancy bringing with it the claims and rights of property and political independence or sovereignty, these, as much as nature's distributions, fall within the province of geography. But it is only those distributions which are of prime and paramount importance. It is not this man's or that man's manor or field; it is the boundaries of states and empires which are his, political confederacies, collections of men professing to be self-governed except by one of themselves, or to be independent of authority which does not arise within themselves. But not these only. The geographer would ill perform his duty were he to neglect to describe old and obliterated boundaries, where earldoms, marquisates, duchies, and kingdoms, once partially or wholly independent sovereignties, have coalesced and formed the great and powerful empires of modern times. The boundaries of the seats of tribes, the remote ancestors of modern civilization, are also his. He has to treat also of the more



important of the subdivisions of a country, one in its political state, whether those which arose out of some early distribution of secular or ecclesiastical authority, or those which have been created in recent times as the necessities of an increasing population required. Under this head comes the defining, which he ought to do with the utmost exactness, the boundaries of provinces and dioceses, of shrievalties or counties, of the judges' circuits, of the rapes, lathes, wapentakes, and hundreds, remains of the Saxon polity of England, or kindred subdivisions of other countries.

Again, he has to point out the situation of the more important centres of population, the seats of general government or of peculiar branches of its administration, of the places to which youth chiefly resort for instruction, the great seats of manufacturing industry or commercial enterprise; and his work is more completely performed when he shews how these places became what they are, why particular branches of a nation's industry flourish at one place rather than at another. Here the geographer intrenches on the province of the historian. The harbours also belong to him, and even the soundings. Not the course of the principal rivers only are traced by him, but the canals and great roads of the kingdom; and the geographer sometimes must condescend to point out the places to which people resort for health or recreation, the more remarkable trophies and monuments, the more magnificent edifices, ecclesiastical or civil, still entire or in ruin; monasteries, churches, palaces, castles, bridges; to which we may add gardens, museums, and libraries. Nor, while these things are left for their full developement to those enquirers in whose more peculiar province they lie, does the geographer forbear to speak of marked varieties in families of the same race as they present themselves in language, habits of ordinary life, widely-diffused opinions, and particularly those which respect religion and her observances.

Now, if it is supposed that there is cut out from the whole surface of the globe, or from some one immense division of it, some little cantle, and that this is looked upon with the same eye with which the geographer surveys the whole, a clear idea will be presented of what may be regarded as the primordia of topographical writing. The first duty of the topographer is to form in his mind such an image of the natural and artificial features of the district he is about to delineate, as the

accomplished geographer forms of the vastly more extensive region which he undertakes to describe; and his next, to convey, in the best manner he is able, an idea to the mind of his reader of the general character of the district which is to be the subject of his work. And for this purpose he must have maps, and commentaries upon them; for this purpose also he must have made himself familiar with the region by frequent traversing of it, for here, as in geology or in natural history, it is not enough to sit in the study surrounded with books, manuscripts, or records, equally essential as these are to the accomplishment of his design, but he must also go forth with an eye to observe and a hand to describe, and he must have fixed deeply in his mind the relations of the works of man to the primitive arrangements of nature, the exact positions of the several seats of population, the relation of one of these seats to others, with which in his subsequent enquiries to connect the original distributions of property; and to gather those more general observations which no one can gather but one who goes with his mind full of his subject, and with whom it is an intent and object to describe hereafter with an exact minuteness the country which he examines.

And here is one important difference between the geographer and the topographer. The geographer cannot be expected to have visited every part of a large continent. He must be content to see much of what he delineates with others' eyes, to be the reporter only of the observations of other men; while it is most justly and reasonably expected from one who undertakes only a small tract of country, a place, a district, a hundred, a deanery, a county, that he shall have seen every thing for himself, things great and things minute, and that he shall deliver nothing but on the avouch of his own inspection.

But another and a more important difference is this: that since he has chosen only a very small tract of country for description, and objects are great or small only in reference to other things with which they may be compared; things far too insignificant for the notice of the geographer, though of the same class, character, or kind with those which are noticed by him, fall within the province of the topographer, and in many cases claim to be most minutely and accurately depicted on his page.

And here it is necessary for the clearer understanding of

the subject to speak of the kind of district to which English topographers have usually applied themselves. I would not willingly exclude the venerable name of Camden from the list of English topographical writers, but his *Britannia*, a small volume relating to the whole of the British islands, is hardly a book of the class now understood by the term topography. So neither are the descriptions and histories of particular cities and towns, of which we have many. These, or some of them, may be admirable in their way, but this species of writing differs essentially both in its subject and in the mode of treating it from that which is now understood by the term topography. There is still another class whom no one would willingly exclude from the catalogue of English topographers, those who have given us accounts of particular rural parishes or single places, of which the eastern counties of England present some admirable specimens in the volumes which relate to Hawsted, Hengrave, Plesshy, and Audley End. These are rather fragments, each rich and valuable, and shewing to the topographer on a larger scale how, in many respects, to proceed with, and perfect his work. Sometimes, however, the history of one single parish becomes properly and strictly a portion of topography. Dr. Whitaker's History of the Parish of Whalley is perhaps the most perfect instance of this: but then the parish of Whalley is one of those northern parishes of vast extent, having beside the mother church very many chapels, only not churches because they were founded at too late a period to have attracted to themselves any portion of the tithe, and so to have become centres of new parishes. This single parish of Whalley is more extensive than many of the rural deaneries, than some of the archdeaconries, and perhaps than one or two of the ancient dioceses of England. But when we approach divisions such as these, or, as hath been the course which topographical enquiry in England has for the most part taken, the civil divisions of counties or hundreds, (especially the former,) we then get what is peculiarly, and properly, and usually understood to be the fit subject of topographical writing. Counties appear to have been the highest object of a topographer's ambition. We have several counties that have been the subject of topographical works, many of which (particularly those produced within the last sixty years, when the office of the topographer began to be better understood than it had before

been) are of great excellence, but unfortunately not uniform in their plans. We have unfortunately also too many left to us in fragments only, the authors having sunk under the severity of the labour before they had accomplished what they had proposed. Others, less ambitious, or thrown by the chances of birth on the borders of contiguous counties, or in counties of almost unmanageable extent, have undertaken archdeaconries, deaneries, hundreds, or some other extensive district, one of the ancient feudal distributions of England, and still acknowledging one lord possessed of feudal privileges. These are the kind of works which constitute the body of English topography properly so called.

On one such division of England then let it be supposed that the mind of a writer is directed in the same spirit and with the same intent that the geographer applies his mind to the whole of the earth's surface, or to some vast continental distribution of it. Here he will discern, and feel it essential to his purpose to describe, objects and relations with which the geographer would never think of meddling, not that they are in themselves and absolutely undeserving notice, but that they are too insignificant when objects in abundance of the same kind on a grander scale are presented to him. Who would think of describing with precision the windings of the Yare and the Wanton when he had the Rhine and the Danube to attend to, or seek out the true head even of the Thames when he was called to search for the hidden springs of the Nile? But those are prime duties of the topographer, and he is not a zealous labourer in the field who does not prosecute the search for the sources of the streams which water and fertilize the district he describes, and trace their course with extreme exactness. In respect of the distribution of animal and vegetable life it can rarely happen that the topographer is called to encroach on the province of the naturalist, and for this simple reason, that in this distribution nature pays no regard to human demarcations. She knows nothing of shires and hundreds, of dioceses, archdeaconries, and deaneries, but spreads her works, if she spread them at all, beyond our artificial boundaries, so that the topographer has in this respect no *peculiar* of his own, but only a fragment of a larger work, which it is far better that he should leave to the professed naturalist to exhibit. The same may be said with respect to geological structure and mineral productions, save

in the cases in which there is something remarkable, and especially when any peculiar geological formation has materially influenced the condition, the habits, or the employment of the people on the surface. As to the natural character of the people who inhabit his district it is not very much that he can have to say, for the main features of an English population are much the same wherever it resides, being of one origin, and having lived through a long tract of time under the same laws and institutions. Yet, as the geographer points out peculiar traits in the character of the people of the different states of Europe, so will the topographer find something worthy his notice in the character and habits of the people presented to him, their idioms of speech, their proneness to peculiar modes of thought and action, and probably some relic of antiquity in their sports or their superstitions of which he will make a permanent record by inscribing them on his page. Topography is thus essentially a study and search of the minute.

The philosopher may smile at the importance which topographic writings give to objects naturally insignificant. But he may, if he please to do so, feel in the same manner towards all exact and critical writing. In the same spirit the generalizer may smile at the minuteness of the facts which the naturalist, the mathematician, and the philological critic lays before him, when each is contemplated absolutely and *per se*, forgetting that his own power of generalizing to any valuable purpose depends entirely on the strict attention, the nice precision, of these more humble labourers; forgetting also what the great master has said, "He that cannot contract the sight of his mind as well as disperse and dilate it wanteth a great faculty<sup>a</sup>." In fact, it is in the minuteness of the observations that the value of topographical writing chiefly consists. It is because the topographer has noticed very obscure characteristics, and preserved his millions of small facts, that his writings are valuable. It is that he has sought out every little remain of early times, and described it with extraordinary circumstantiality. Without this his works would be nothing. And if looking upon the little region he has selected with the eye of the geographer, and yet through a glass microscopically, or finding objects naturally magnified, since there is nothing greater near at hand with which to compare them, he speak of some small heath or common which still exhibits what

<sup>a</sup> Bacon, Advancement of Learning, book i. fol. 15. ed. 1605.

was the pristine condition of that portion of the island, or draw attention to some little Tempe, beautiful as delivered by the hand of nature, or made beautiful by the hand of taste; or if he find a few books or paintings which some curious person has collected and deposited there, and he dwell upon them as if they formed a Vatican library or a Florentine gallery; if he find a church with some architectural pretension, and describe it with affectionate minuteness as another would one of the great minsters of Christendom, or a piece of middle-age sculpture on which no eye has hitherto been directed, and he seek to present it as an object worthy of observation, and to deduce lessons from it on the state of society in the times in which it was executed, he is but discharging his proper function, and it can be no true philosophy which derides him in his taste and enthusiasm, or which refuses to accept the humble offering which he, and he only, lays at its feet. And if in the spirit of the most minute observation on which he proceeds he set before us any remain, however inconsiderable, that opens to us any insight into the manners or character of the early inhabitants of this island; or of the persons, Roman, Saxon, or Dane, who induced a new population on the ruins of an older, be it only a fragment of masonry, a slight suspicion of a half obliterated trackway, or a mound of earth raised by hands unknown, and for an unknown purpose, or if he find beneath the ground all that remains of some primæval inhabitant, buried in her ornaments, or with his weapons of war beside him, there is at least something which strikes pleasingly on the imagination, but something also which, as time passes on, may enable the generalizer to compare and combine, and haply at length to strike that light which shall illuminate the darkness which now rests on the state of our own people when Greece and Rome were in the meridian of their glory. Yet what could the generalizer do were not this minute research and observation to precede him?

This then is topography, when it is regarded as so much description; a most refined geography; a microscopic delineation of some small portion of the earth's surface.—But the topographer is the historian as well as the delineator; and it is this intimate union of history and description which is the main characteristic of English topography. It is not enough that the topographer describe with whatever degree of pre-



cision and detail things as they now are; it is expected of him that he trace, as well as he is able, the successive changes through which the district has passed from its state of wild nature to the state in which we now behold it, drained, cleared, and cultivated, dotted with towns and villages, adorned with splendid edifices, some the abodes of wealth and the most perfect refinement, some the sacred fanes in which the high services of religion are performed, and some also but ruinous places, telling of a state of society that no longer exists, interesting from recollections such as these, and graceful in their decay. But he has more than this to do. It is not only in what has been done, but by whom, that he is required to instruct us, the persons by whose hands the successive changes have been accomplished, who took the first step which gave the right of occupancy, who introduced the doctrines and rites of the Christian Church, who bade the village spire arise, or who invited near to his mansion some colony of religious and learned men who formed a society for him, and whose special calling it was to maintain the influence which Christianity had achieved.

This is one of the chief of the duties which rest on the topographer. It is however a duty which it is much more easy to speak of than to perform; much more easy to call upon him to execute than it is for him to respond. And when we consider how much uncertainty rests upon the general history of the country in the times before the Norman Conquest, the great difficulties with which the history of even the Roman sway in Britain is beset, or the discordant accounts which are given of Saxon history and Saxon polity, we shall not be surprised, that when the topographer has brought all the research and all the sagacity it is possible to employ, we find him incapable of determining questions even the most important that arise on his subject, and that in fact no concatenated historic narration can be given. Before that period, the historical portion of topography can hardly be anything but an *anecdotal* work, having little connection or dependence among its parts, and little in which we can say that one act was a consequence of a preceding act. The only exceptions are in cases where there was a rich monastery of early Saxon foundation, as at Glastonbury, Malmesbury, and Tewkesbury, or St. Alban's, Bury, and Croyland, or where we have an ancient seat of royal or episcopal authority. In such



cases there are usually historical writings, or at least chartularies, remaining, from the study of which many facts can be deduced, some of which admit of combination, or may be made to reflect light upon each other, so that we have a show at least of concatenated history. With respect to other places, that is, to the far larger portion of the country, the first fact we usually find recorded is that in the time of the Confessor, that is, just before the close of the Saxon sovereignty, a certain person was the owner of the vill, and that it was valued at so much. All before is usually an absolute blank, except that we may find a cairn or a barrow, that there have been disinterred a few British, or Roman, or Saxon coins, that there is an ancient trackway which may be pronounced British, or Roman, or Saxon, a fortified enclosure perhaps, of very uncertain antiquity; but we cannot make any historical deductions from these facts for the special illustration of the district in which they are found, still less can we form from them any concatenated historical narrative. In cases in which we have more striking remains, as those of the Roman era, and especially inscribed remains, we may perhaps draw from them certain conclusions touching the habits of the Roman population of the island, but they will be very limited indeed as to the illustration of the history of the particular district in which they are found. We may even be quite sure that a road, whose course is laid down in the Roman Itinerary, lay across the district on which we are engaged, and in most instances the stations marked in the Itinerary may have their position precisely pointed out, and this is important truth obtained. In favoured instances we may contend, with some show of probability, that an event recorded in the pages of Cæsar or Tacitus must have had for its scene the country we have undertaken to describe. But these are insulated facts. An ingenious person, such as Mr. Whitaker, of Manchester, may combine what little is known, and throwing in his own conjectures and theories, may give to a work the appearance of a history; but the more sober topographer will be content to put down the few facts, without making the effort to combine them. It is a remarkable truth, that numerous as are the inscribed stones which have been found in England, works of the Roman times, and many at the same favoured places, they are rarely found to cast any than mere philological light upon each other.

A few names of places may be found in Bede and in the Saxon Chronicle. These serve in some measure the purposes of topography. They will be names of places originally Roman, or at least inhabited by Romans, and for the most part those which are now county towns or which were ancient episcopal seats. A faint light may also sometimes be drawn from etymology, and from existing remains of earth-work or architecture. Nearly all our names of places are older than the time of the Confessor, the villare of England having been completed before his time. But when every thing is brought in aid, it is little that can be done to give continuity and connexion to ante-Norman history.

We emerge from the anecdotal period of topography at the Conquest. An era entirely new then opens upon us, and the topographer may from that time be most reasonably expected to give a consecutive and connected history of the district he has undertaken to illustrate, and of the several members which compose it, with but few breaks in the continuity.

The cause of this very material change in the state of affairs respecting the resources of the topographer is not that we have any great affluence of historians who are more particular in their relation of facts, so that places very obscure become noticed in their pages, or that we have at the beginning of the period any decidedly greater number of charters, except as with the increase of monasteries, which went on very rapidly in the first century after the Conquest, the increase would go on of the topographical matter recorded in their chartularies, and consequently many places where the monasteries of Norman foundation had possessions, obtain the same kind of notice which we find of places that had been connected with the older Saxon monasteries. The change is owing to the introduction into England of the feudal system, or at least to the more definite character which the system then assumed; the distribution of the country into feuds, and the subinfeudations which the great feudatories of the crown were permitted to make, arrangements which the event shewed to be permanent, and which are far from being extinct even in the present day: and next to this, or rather that without which the aid to be derived to topography from the feudal distribution of the country would have been feeble and uncertain, that no sooner was this distribution accomplished, than a public record was

made of the several tenancies and of their proprietors, which record was open to inspection in all subsequent times, and is open and in its perfect state at the present day. It is perhaps the noblest monument of its kind which any nation possesses, both for its antiquity and the variety and extent of the information which it affords. I need not add that this is the record popularly known by the name of **DOMESDAY-BOOK**.

It is unnecessary, and would be unsuitable to such an outline as the present communication must necessarily be, to shew all the various kinds of information which this record contains from which to form some idea of the state of any particular part of England in the eleventh century; but I may say in general, that the number of tenants divided into their classes in the several manors which are there described is particularly set forth, and that it shews the number of carucates of arable, the extent of pasture and woodland, the existence of a mansion of the lord if one had been erected, the existence of a mill if there was one, and of a church in almost every case in which we have reason to believe that a church had at that time been erected. These notes afford light (faint indeed, and not unfrequently uncertain, from the difficulty of interpreting the phraseology of the record) into the state of society in each manor, and collectively in more extended districts, such as we should seek in vain to find in any other record; so that it may be said that we know more of the state of England in the reign of the Conqueror than we do at any later period, till we approach the close of the thirteenth century, when there were reviews of the state of English feudality, and numerous facts were put upon record, less systematically indeed, but still at hand for the assistance of any enquirer. But the great use to be made of Domesday, and the information given by it, and that by which it changes the whole face of topographical writing, and enables us to substitute a concatenated narrative for detached and anecdotal facts, is that it presents to us the great feudal distribution of England, and shews who the persons were who held the soil, in greater or lesser portions, immediately of the crown, to what Saxon chiefs they had succeeded, and in many instances what subinfeudations they had made of portions of their unwieldy possessions. The basis was at that time laid of the territorial proprietorship of England allowed by the state for fixed services equivalent to rents; and though the regular trans-

mission of fiefs has in many instances been interrupted by attainders, and many have been resumed by the crown by the engrafting into the royal house of heiresses to the larger of those fiefs, just as hath been the case in France and other countries, yet the fiefs themselves remained entire, capable of distinct consideration, so that this distribution made at the Conquest has been substantially maintained from that time to the present, and is in fact the origin of rights to lands, rents, and franchises, as they exist at the present day.

Now it is the history of these feuds, of the sub-feuds and subinfeudations below these, down to the most insignificant manor, in which lies the essence of the historical portion of English topography. The succession of owners of these feuds are the bones, so to speak, of the historic fabric, as the succession of sovereigns of England is the first essential in our general history, and that about which all other particulars but entwine themselves; for with few exceptions, (I exclude the cities and ancient burghs, as requiring another mode of treatment,) it is what the lords and owners did which constitutes the historical material of topography; and before we enquire what was done, we must know who they were whose acts and deeds touching the places which are the subject of enquiry are to be related. If a church was to be built, if a mill was to be provided for the tenantry, if a bridge was to be constructed, if a charter for a market or fair was to be obtained, it was the feudal lord by whom it was done. If any change of tenure to the freeholders was made, if any enfranchisement from base services took place, this of course was the work of their feudal chief. If the place had any share in the calamities which civil war brought with it, it was as it stood dependent on the lord; and whatever we find of middle-age interest in the church, usually the only depository of the mediæval antiquities of a parish, may for the most part be traced to the lords. Eleemosynary foundations also of any antiquity have usually originated in the kindly spirit of the lord. And whatever we find of record or charter evidence of any importance, is for the most part the account of something touching the place, in which the lord was the principal actor.

Occasionally, as we advance in the history of those feuds, we find that there had arisen among the population *persons* who had become enriched by commerce in the towns, or who had obtained distinction and wealth in high civil or ecclesias-

tical offices, and who became benefactors (often most generous and enlightened benefactors) to the villages of which they were natives; but, generally, the transactions of other persons than the lords are no more worth regarding as a part of village history than would be the transactions among husbandmen of the present day. In recent times, however, that is, from the blow given to the feudal system by King Charles the Second, the case has been different.

We cannot, therefore, in setting forth the history of some small district, do better than take in the first place one of these great tenancies in chief, if the whole of it lie within the county or district of which it is our purpose to give an historical account, or to take such portions of a tenancy which extended beyond our limits as lies within those limits, and treat of this collectively as the first division of our whole subject, and this in contradistinction to the distribution of the subject in parishes and chapelries, which are ecclesiastical divisions, or in hundreds or townships, which are political divisions, making these subsidiary to the feudal; shewing the line in which the feud has descended, and what each successive chief of the line has done to affect the condition of the people in his patronage or for his own dignity and pleasure, taking that particular place where was his residence as the point at which to introduce the various deeds of the great chieftain touching his extensive proprietorship. By so distributing the subject we avoid endless repetitions. Told once for all when describing the place which was the *caput baroniæ*, and such a place would usually be found within the district we were describing, there would be no occasion to repeat the story of the chief lords, whenever one of their minor possessions was before us. The distinction of lord paramount and mesne lord would be more distinctly brought out, and it would be more clearly seen why at some particular point we now find the ruins of an edifice evidently of far different construction from the dwellings of the inferior lords, and why in particular places we find the ruins of the monasteries of which these chief lords were for the most part the founders.

It would be found, however, that except in the immediate vicinity of their castles, about which usually arose a town, these chief lords did not come into immediate contact with the population of the several manors which composed their fees. Large tracts were sometimes kept for hunting purposes, on

which vills arose, which were directly under the chief lord's influence, and entire manors would sometimes be kept in demesne beside the demesne lands which surrounded their castles. But in general the chief lords placed other persons in possession of their distant lands, who held them by services similar to those by which the chief lord himself held of the king. Sometimes the rule was, one vill, of Saxon or earlier foundation, one sub-lord; but not unfrequently many vills were assigned to some one person who stood to them in the relation of chief, though himself subordinate to the real chief, and often in a few generations rivalling his chief in wealth and influence, in the splendour of his residence, and the munificence of his benefactions. Here then we get often another conglomerate of vills, the history of which may be treated collectively, as a series of acts of the persons who thus held them, just as the larger feudal distributions may be treated; and when these mesne lords in their turn subinfeuded, till we descend to the owners of one single vill or even portion of a vill, another race and class of persons are to be sought out, and their acts and deeds touching the lands treated of to be exhibited. In this way whatever there is of history belonging to the subject will be brought before us, and, as it seems to me, in the most lucid order, and in a manner suited to present it clearly to the understanding.

In some counties where the comminution of the fees had been carried to a greater extent than is usually the case, it will be found that in the same place (as a parish, one of the most common distributions of topographers) more than one fee has extended. In cases like this there may be occasion for some sacrifice of order. But in general the rule is, one parish, one manor, or, as in many parts of the north, one township, one manor, and several of them combined forming one of their extensive parishes.

I would illustrate this mode of treating the subject by again alluding to the mode in which the general history of the country at large is written. All historians seem to agree that the most convenient arrangement of the events of public history is, to place them under the reigns of each sovereign as they successively occupied the throne. So let the history of those petty sovereignties, the honours and the manors of England, be arranged. And I beg leave to suggest that this is the only method in which unity can be given to a subject



in itself necessarily very multifarious, the only way by which it is possible to escape from the obligation to repeat many things that have been already told, a way by which any fact will find its proper place and drop into it, the only plan on which topography can make any pretence to a logical distribution.

And here I cannot refrain from expressing disapproval of giving to topographical writing the character of a dictionary, by distributing the various members of it merely according to the alphabetical form of the name. This is in fact to abandon the possibility of giving to such works that arrangement and order which are essential to true beauty in literary composition.

If now the enquiry is made what are the resources to which the topographer can apply to recover first the series of persons who have held these little feudal sovereignties, and secondly what they have each done touching the district through which this power extended, I answer that this is one of the chief burdens which the topographer undertakes to bear when he professes that he will add his contribution to what has already in this department of literature been accomplished. If he is unwilling to undertake the labour of the search, if he is insensible to its importance, if he knows not the more obvious sources of information, if he does not diligently apply himself to them, he is not prepared for his work, and the work will be of very small value when it comes forth. And yet to execute even the first portion, that is to shew the names of the several persons who form the series of lords from the eleventh century to the present, is no very easy task, and in many instances indeed it is impossible to do it, not through any want of skill or diligence in the topographer, but that the *vestigia veritatis* are effaced, that there are persons on whom thick night has fallen everlastingly, and transactions of which no record whatever remains. It would be very unreasonable to require of the topographer to tell that which no contemporary writing or authentic memorial makes any mention of, and equally so to relate transactions the memorials of which are guarded by jealousies of modern proprietorship. All he can be reasonably expected to do is to gather the evidence which time has spared or a liberal spirit has thrown open, and so to compare and combine as to make the evidence yield all the truth that is contained in it.

But while I state that there are difficulties attending these



primary researches of the topographer in his character of historian, it is not meant to suggest that a writer may throw himself back upon these difficulties as an excuse for indolence or neglect. If there is something which cannot be known, there is also very much that is open to every one in the written records of the past, and very much also which is open to him in an easier manner, the original records having been scrutinized by the laborious antiquaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and made to yield what they contain concerning the more eminent persons of our nation, all of whom stood in the relation of lord to one or more of these feudal supremacies. In fact the lines of those who were tenants *in capite*, those who held the great feudalities immediately of the crown, as hereditary dignities usually inherited in them, have been the subject of research by those who have written on the descent of the hereditary dignities of the realm, and in the main the results have been so complete and successful that little remains for the topographer but to adopt what has been prepared for him, and happy is he if he can sometimes correct a date or supply a new name. Whatever of this kind can be done the topographer ought to do, and it might be well if he consulted the authorities which are to be found in the margins of such books as Dugdale's *Baronage*: but here he may fairly be allowed to regard himself as sitting at the feet of a master, and timidly as becomes a scholar, suggesting those corrections which his master if alive would gratefully accept and acknowledge. Thus much with respect to the highest order of feudal lords; and what is said of the sources of information respecting them, may, in a qualified manner, be said of those who held of them large tracts and divers vills in the position of mesne lords; for these, the men of the second layer of the population of England, often became the possessors of hereditary dignities, and, like the chief lords, the subjects of research to the writers whose subject was professedly genealogical. But the case is different when we descend to the owners of single manors, or to families among different branches of whom a single manor was divided. We have then a class of persons who may or may not have been the subject of enquiry to any one before us, and of whom the topographer is perhaps the first to bring their names from out of the obscurity which rests upon them. In these cases he must apply himself resolutely to his work. If he has col-

lections for his county made by some former collector and preserved in manuscript, he is fortunate, for they will serve at least as guides to his authorities, and sometimes may be allowed to supply the place of his own research. If the heralds have preceded him, he may find the sequences of the lords as they have recorded them: but in respect of races of whom no authentic account has previously been given, it is his duty to search for himself, and to gather for himself from the remains of past ages who they were, how they followed each other, and what was done by each. And for this purpose he has first the great Norman Survey, in which the name of the founder of these smaller feuds is sometimes to be read. He has his chance of meeting with him again in the chartularies which contain deeds of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, either his own, or of persons who claim him as their ancestor. He may even be so fortunate as to find deeds themselves. He may search the early proceedings in the courts of justice, where we have sometimes titles traced to the Conquest. He may find a transaction or two in one of the earlier of the Pipe Rolls. When we approach the time when what the law calls "the memory of man" begins, he may, and probably would, find transactions in the Fines which would shew who in those early times had stepped into the place of the original mesne lord, how the tenancy had become divided, and possibly even the record of a transfer from one family to another. He has also the Red Book and the Black Book of the Exchequer, rich in matter of the greatest importance to him, as shewing in whom the fees were vested at particular periods; and in the Testa de Nevil he may be so fortunate as to meet with notices which carry him far back into the dark periods before the date of that mysterious compilation. We have then the results of the enquiries which were made concerning feudal rights, and I may add feudal usurpations, in the reigns of Henry the Third, Edward the First, and, less remarkably, Edward the Second, contained in the Hundred Rolls, the Quo Warranto Rolls, Kirkby's Inquest for the counties for which it exists, and the Nomina Villarum. Much matter also remains of record not incorporated in any of these the grander records of the realm, in the accounts of the collections of feudal aids. But when we reach the reign of Henry the Third we are within the scope of a class of record evidence which is of all the most important

for the particular purpose now under consideration. I mean the inquisitions taken before the escheators on the deaths of persons all or most of whom were of the class of persons we are speaking of, either tenants in chief of the crown or tenants of those who held of the crown, or tenants again of those tenants. These inquisitions shew us distinctly who at a particular time held a particular property, with some circumstances of that property. But they shew more: they shew when an actual possessor died, who succeeded him, and of what age the successors were, and often transactions respecting the property. But they have for the purposes of topography information scarcely less important than this. They shew the tenures; that is, the person dying held such a manor of such a person, thus giving us not the mesne lord only, but the chief also, and presenting us evidence of subinfeudations of which no contemporary record exists, and possibly where no written evidence was ever prepared. These inquisitions are of unspeakable importance. Where the series is entire they present an authentic contemporary account of the transmission of feudal rights from the reign of Henry the Third to that of Charles the First, a noble stream of evidence which it is to be lamented was ever allowed to be dammed up. Accompanying these are many other series of national records which might be consulted for the chances of what might be found in them, were not the task too great to be undertaken by any person, however resolute, with the purpose of going through with it; and beside these there has been a constant accumulation of private deeds, in which transactions between private parties have been recorded, either still in the hands of the possessors of the manor, or dispersed among the collectors of curiosities such as these. Many also which have found their way into the Record Offices, or such places of deposit as the British Museum.

For later times, when the topographer loses the benefit of the inquisitions, his best resource for establishing the series of feudal chiefs is, undoubtedly, the records of the College of Arms. It is to be regretted that the visitations ceased soon after the inquisitions ceased, because in them there was something approaching to a systematic attempt to keep a registry of the families in whom was vested the chief property of the country. When the visitations ceased the information placed on record in the heralds' books has been but anecdotal,

with the exception of that which respects the transmission of dignities. But it is copious, valuable, and (such is the care taken) most authentic.

Where these fail him the topographer must spell his way for the last century and a half as well as he can by the aid of wills, parish registers, private information of persons cognizant of the facts, monumental inscriptions, the printed obituaries, the London Gazettes, together with such information as is allowed to escape from family archives.

And thus much for that most important point in topography, the establishing of the series of feudal proprietors. To know what they did which had any effect in changing the aspect of affairs in the district to which they stood in so important a relation, the topographer may collect what he can from the old authorities before named, to which he will add what is to be learned from existing deeds of the families, and from such public records as the Charter Rolls and other rolls of Chancery.

I have hitherto said nothing of ecclesiastical documents, and yet not to mention the wills which are still in the custody of the Church, and which are extremely rich in that species of information which is most essential to the topographer, the records of the several dioceses contain information of the most valuable kind for topographical purposes. Even in determining the steps of the descent of the great feudal interests, they are of the greatest value where the inquisitions fail, the advowson being usually united to the feudal superiority, and the record of the presentations by the patron being therefore in many cases the record of the persons in whom the feudal superiority inhered. But beside this, the record of the early patrons of the benefices often guides us to the actual founders of the church, and shews whether this act of piety was done by the chief or the mesne, for the presentation was allowed in early times to follow the act of foundation, or in other words, the tithe of the manor was allowed to be subtracted from some more ancient church, if a lord was rich enough and devout enough to build a church, and thus bring religion and her ordinances home to the tenantry of a particular manor. Again, it is to the ecclesiastical documents that we go to find the era when a church was given to a monastery, an act which took place with regard to half the churches of the kingdom, the terms on which the compact was made when the vicarage

was ordained: information this of the highest importance in parochial history, and which might be studied in its details and consequences with advantage by the philosophical enquirer into the history of society in England. It is to the recorded matter in the registers of the dioceses that the topographer must principally resort for information respecting the foundation of chantries, of which before the Reformation the number was so great that in the larger towns there was usually a service at almost every hour from five in the morning to mid-day. The foundation of these chantries and the affairs connected with them occupy a large space in topographical history, as they also are most material in all investigations respecting the structure of the churches. They will be found on examination to be closely connected also with the social habits and even the recreations of the people. They formed one of the provisions which in early ages broke the monotony of country life, without science, without literature, and without politics. Catalogues, believed to be nearly complete, were formed of these, when the Reformation brought with it their suppression. Most of the painted glass which remains in our churches belonged not so much to the church itself as to these special services of devout commemoration and voluntary union in religious sodalities. To the ecclesiastical records we must also refer for the best information that is to be gained concerning that lowest of ecclesiastical foundations in England, the capella, a building devoted to the purposes of religion, but without any tithe, and sometimes without the liberty of having the rites of baptism, burial, and the nuptial benediction performed within its walls. These arose in many of the parishes, and form a most important subject of the topographer's attention.

For every thing respecting the ecclesiastical arrangements of English society we have, in addition to the knowledge derived from the records, expressly formed and continuously preserved, of ecclesiastical transactions, valuable isolated documents thrown up by temporary states of public affairs, of which the most important are the two which have been printed, the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in the reign of Edward the First, and the Valor of the reign of Henry the Eighth. These contain that information which is direct, but beside these there is much of an indirect, but most valuable kind, to be gained from other public records, such as the Nonæ Rolls and similar taxations of parishes.

For the succession of ecclesiastical persons who held the benefices as rectors or vicars, their names are occasionally met with in other evidence, but we must chiefly depend upon the record which has been preserved of their institutions by the ordinary.

It is fortunate for the topographer if he have fallen upon a district rich in monastic remains; not only that the monks have in most instances left written records of the transactions of their house, and written memorials of their benefactors, which can be used for the general purposes of the history of the country around, but that their ruins themselves are such peculiar objects of contemplative interest, calling up, more than any other species of remain, spectacles of the olden time in England, when it was not that country of toil, contest, and jealousy, which it has since become. The history of these foundations will be found to arise most naturally out of the order in which it is here proposed that books of topography should be distributed; for the monasteries were the work of the chief lords for the most part, or of those who stood next to the chief lord; and the consideration of the connexion which they had with the founders will in almost every instance shew us why the monastery was placed in the valley in which we find it, as well as not unfrequently the inducement which led to its foundation; just as the investigations of the topographer shew us why we find on particular sites and not on others the ruins which indicate the previous existence thereon of an edifice surpassing all others in the neighbourhood in strength and magnificence. This is one of the main triumphs of topography; for it is surely a most desirable thing, if we have any curiosity about the past, and would not live as men of our own generation only, to know why this edifice is here in ruins, or, if it be a church which has been spared to us, why it occupies this particular site, when and by whom it was erected; and not to gaze upon it as if it had sprung out of the earth like the yew-tree which grows beside it. The monasteries present little difficulty to the modern topographer, thanks to the labours of our old antiquaries, who gathered so much respecting them, and made it so easily accessible, and to the care with which the chartularies and chronicles prepared by the religious themselves have been transmitted to our time. Vast also is the amount of information upon record concerning the dispersion



of the estates belonging to those foundations when their glories were laid in the dust.

Of minor foundations, religious, educational, or eleemosynary, the works of later times, it is hardly necessary to speak. They of course are not to be passed over, but their history and circumstances are easily learned by those who shall enquire respecting them. Lives of eminent persons, native or inhabitant, are out of place, belonging to works professedly biographical; and the topographer should rigidly abstain from copying articles from the *Athenæ* or *Biographia*, and give only or chiefly those points in which the person who had gained eminence is connected with the district, and has influenced in any manner its condition. As to the ordinary affairs of a village, a few lines of general description are sufficient, for what is to be said of the uniform operations of the husbandman who sows his seed in the spring and reaps the produce in autumn. Yet sometimes there will arise men in this class who by reason of some remarkable peculiarity require some notice in village annals.

Upon events quite recent, the inclosures, the turnpikes, the railroads, the canals, the establishment of manufactures, and such things, it will not be expected from me to offer any hints, the sources being so obvious whence we may inform ourselves about them; and I shall close this communication with recurring to my first remark, that nothing is more important for the execution of the task undertaken by the topographer than his own personal observation; not a casual glance, but the having the natural features of the district strongly imprinted on his mind, as well as the several relations which each part bears to the other places around it. Nothing can supply the want of this; but with this, and combined with it the diligent study of chronicle and record, it does not require the very highest qualities of mind to perform a worthy work in this department of literature, to do something towards that great work which may be discerned in the distant future, a *FEUDAL BRITANNIA*, in which will be united the extremest minuteness of description with an accurate account, as far as time has spared the evidence, of the descent of feudal rights from the beginning.

To those who think that there is a person capable of undertaking the history of every village in every parish of the kingdom, and hope by the circulation of queries to elicit that in-



formation which ought to be sought for by their own travel and toil, I would observe that in point of fact, though the experiment has been often tried, it has never succeeded. There must be the stimulus, of which topographers have been heard to speak, of the *natural propension*. Men must be born with the faculty of observing things very minute, and have trained themselves to regard nothing as absolutely insignificant and not worth attention, in order to do any thing of this kind well. They must have the higher faculty of combination and making just deductions from the evidence. They must also have the leisure as well as the inclination. Such men are not to be found in every parish, nor are they born in every prince's days, men whose peculiar delight it is to *remember the days of old, to consider the years of many generations, to ask their fathers what they can tell and their elders what they can declare unto them*, and who have no greater pleasure than to perceive the beauty of truth as it arises out of combination and comparison of evidence previously unknown and testimony widely dispersed.

Yet something may be done by the circulation of queries: and I append to this communication a set of queries prepared by me many years ago, upon this principle, that nothing is asked beyond the powers of any person of ordinary understanding to answer, if he is disposed to take the very small trouble requisite for the purpose. The scholar's work comes afterwards.

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*Township of*

To

Sir,

*The Antiquarian Committee of the ——— Philosophical Society, being desirous of collecting information which may be of important service to any one who may hereafter undertake a General Topographical History and Description of the County of ——— respectfully request that you would favour them with replies to the following Queries, or to such of them as it may be in your power to answer, and communicate to them the names of any persons in your neighbourhood, who are likely to furnish them with the information which they wish to obtain. They beg leave to suggest, that the replies should be as full, yet as concise as possible, and that the remarks*

*should be confined to the TOWNSHIP which is placed at the head of this letter, or to such place, if any, as may claim to be extra-parochial, and which appears to have been severed from the Township.*

*I am, Sir,*

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*Secretary to the Committee.*

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1. WHAT is the supposed or measured area of the township? What are its boundaries and abutments? Here state whether there has been any actual survey made for inclosure or other purposes, and where it is deposited. Trace the bounds with as much minuteness as possible, noticing particularly any mere-stones or other marks of limitation, with the names by which they are known.

2. In what manner is the population dispersed over the township? Are the people collected in one considerable town or village, and in a number of single houses, dispersedly? Or are there several villages or hamlets?

3. What is the principal employment or occupation of the inhabitants? If not agriculture, what reason can be assigned, in natural causes or otherwise, for the employment of the people in any other manner? State how many persons are supposed to be employed in such occupations.

4. State any thing which appears to you remarkable in the character of the population, their habits of life, the state of the township as to cleanliness and comfort, and the like. State what may appear to you to be the reasons, either as arising from any thing within the township, or as the people are affected by any circumstance extraneous to themselves.

5. What market do they usually attend?

6. Are there any remarkable earth-works which appear to have been the work of the early inhabitants of the island, such as the larger tumuli, fortified places, barrows? Describe any such.

7. Have you reason to think that any Roman road or British trackway passed through the township? Or any lengthened line of boundary? Describe as minutely as possible its course.

8. Has there been any discovery of Roman coin, or of other antiquities within the township? Describe the place where, especially as in relation to the earth-works or any other existing remains of antiquity; and also the nature of the discovery itself, and if it has been any where described, where.

9. What ancient edifices, or other objects of antiquarian curiosity are there, exclusive of the church (to which your attention will be afterwards drawn)? Here mention and describe any crosses, ruins of religious houses, &c.

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10. Who claims to be the lord of the manor? If there are more manors than one claimed, who claim to be lords, and by what designation are the manors known? Who, as far as you can learn, have been lords, especially who during the last century? State their names in succession, with the mode in which it passed from one to another, as by purchase, marriage, heirship, will, or otherwise. State the rank and quality of the successive lords, as well as the name; with the offices which may have been held by him, as sheriff, justice of the peace, &c. State also the marriages and issue of the successive lords, and whether they resided within the township; the times of the deaths of each in succession, and where interred.

11. Is it known of what superior the manor or manors are held? And by what services? Are there any remarkable issues of the manor, under the denomination of blanch-farm rents, out-horn money, ward-silver, or the like? and to whom they are paid?

12. What share of the land is in demesne? And what is the present number of freeholders?

13. Is there any thing remarkable in the tenures by which any lands are held; or are there any peculiar customs of the manor? What courts does the lord hold; and through what period of time do the court-rolls extend?

14. Has the lord of the manor a seat in the township? If he has, of what kind, what its situation? Is there a park? What is there remarkable about it? What paintings, statuary, or other objects of curiosity? What collection of manuscripts, medals, or rare books in the library?—If none, when is it supposed that the lords ceased to reside? In what part of the township was the house situated? Are there any ruins of it? Describe them.

15. Is the township inclosed? And if by act of parliament, in what year was the act passed?

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16. Have you a parish church within the limits of the township? Or if not a parish church or a chapel, meaning a chapel of the Church of England, to what parish church do the people resort for the performance of Christian rites, and to what church do they render tithes or offerings?

17. Does any other township pertain to your church?

18. If you have a parish church, are there any other places in which any of the Christian rites are performed within the township, meaning only of the Church of England?

19. Have you any traditionary accounts of the foundation of your church or chapel? And what appears to you to have been the reason that a church was erected in the township, or that no church was erected, and the township was assigned to a neighbouring church?

20. If you have a church, is the incumbent a rector or a vicar?

21. If a rector, by whom is he presented? In whom has the right of naming the rector been heretofore vested? Shew the descent of the right as in the case of the lords of the manor; how it passed from one to another, with dates, and similar information respecting the persons who have been the patrons.

22. If only a vicar, who is in the place of a rector? or, in other words, who is the impropriator? And who have been the impropriators before him? State the descent of this interest as clearly and fully as you are able. Does the impropriator name the vicar? If not, who does? and who has done so before time, as far back as you can learn? What portion of the profits of the living does the vicar take?

23. If there is only a chapel, who names the officiating minister? and who have before-time named him? Shew the descent of this right as far as is in your power. What endowment is there supposed to be on the chapel? What rites are performed in it?

24. Give the succession of incumbents from as early a period as you recollect them, or can gain information, with dates. Give an account of each incumbent, as to his place of birth, education, academical honours, stations in the Church, marriage, issue, published writings, &c.

25. If the incumbents have not been resident, who have been their curates? with particulars as in the last article.

26. To what saint is the church or chapel dedicated? Describe it as an edifice. Of what parts does it consist? Can you form any probable conjecture as to the time when it was built? Is there any thing remarkable about the font, bells, or pulpit? Is there any painted glass in the windows? And what is the subject of it? Are there any sculptures in wood or stone about the church, or inscriptions, except what relate to persons buried therein? What arms are there?

27. What sepulchral monuments does it contain? Describe as

minutely as possible any early monuments. Give copies of the monumental inscriptions within the walls, marking the part of the church in which they are found, as the chancel, nave, side aisles. Give the inscriptions without the walls, when for persons of any consideration.

28. Through what period does the parish register extend? Give extracts from it of all entries relating to the gentry and clergy, and any other entries which appear to you worthy of notice.

29. Are there any churchwardens' accompts or town's books, of old standing, from which you can select entries which illustrate the history of the township, the manners of our ancestors, or the general history of the kingdom?

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30. What places are there set apart for public worship by any description of nonconformists, as Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, &c.? Specify the denomination. What account can you give of their origin? and who have been the officiating ministers, where they have had any regular ministry?

31. Is there any endowed school? When and for what purpose founded? How endowed? What number of children educated? Who have been the masters? Is there any thing remarkable in the edifice itself?

32. What other schools of any kind are there?

33. Is there any endowed hospital? Give the particulars of its origin and history, and the nature of it. Have you any remarks to make upon the printed accounts of this or any other charity within your township?

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34. What hamlets are there within the township?

35. What single houses which have particular names? What names of farms or of fields which appear to you worthy of remark?

36. What hills, lakes, streams are there, and by what names are they called? Describe any, and particularly the course of any stream which may run through the township. What bridges or mills are there, and what are they called?

37. What remarkable old mansions are there, beside the hall of the lord of the manor? By whom supposed to have been built? And of what families they have been the residences? Give an account of such families, when they have ranked with the gentry of the county, or producing sheriffs or justices of the peace. To whom do the mansions now belong?

38. What remarkable persons have been born within your township? or have resided there? Give as much as you can collect of their history from the inhabitants.

39. What feasts, what wakes, or revels are observed? On what days? How are they celebrated?

40. What have you observed peculiar in the amusements of the people?

41. What superstitions prevail among them? Witches, fairies, ghosts? What respecting sicknesses, deaths, funerals? or marriages?

42. What traditionary stories are current among them? What local saws, rhymes, or proverbial expressions?

43. What have you observed remarkable in the dialect? Give a list of words in use among them which are not in the dictionaries?

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44. Is there any gentleman who has made any collections for the history of this township? Or who is known to possess any documents, such as old deeds, old correspondence, or historical papers of any kind, which would be useful in this enquiry?

45. Is there any printed account of this township? Have you any corrections or remarks to offer?

46. Communicate any other information which you think material to one who would enquire with the minuteness which belongs to genuine topographical enquiry, into the history and present state of the township, which may not have been called for by any of the above queries.





MONITARY ROLL OF WEST DERHAM AFBET.

NO

ON PRECATORY OR MORTUARY ROLLS, AND PARTICULARLY ONE OF THE ABBEY OF WEST DEREHAM, NORFOLK.

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ., F.S.A., LONDON & NEWC.

THE precatory roll of the abbey of West Dereham, which is exhibited at this meeting by the Rev. George Dashwood, of Stow Bardolph, by the obliging permission of Sir Thomas Hare, Bart., is one of a class of documents which must at one time have been very numerous, but of which very few examples are now preserved. I believe that no such roll exists among the voluminous manuscript treasures of the British Museum, nor is any even mentioned by Fosbroke, in his work on British Monachism. He speaks, indeed, of the term *titulus*, but gives an erroneous explanation, for he says it was the entry of a death made in the obituary of a religious house; whereas it was really the entry of the *titulus*, or designation, of a religious house made upon a mortuary roll.

These mortuary rolls (so far as the *tituli*, which constitute the bulk of them, are concerned) differ from most other records in this respect, that they were not written by a single clerk, or by a set of clerks employed by the party to whom they belonged; but they were formed by the successive contributions of the parties to whom they were carried: each entering, in turn, the *titulus* or description of their house, accompanied by a promise of their religious suffrages. The mortuary roll, then, as a record, gave at once an assurance that the messengers entrusted with it had duly performed their circuit, and that the associated houses of the monastic community had engaged to perform the required services for the defunct.

The *tituli* are preceded by an introductory portion, written in the convent from whence the roll was transmitted; in which, after some religious reflections, the loss the society had recently sustained is stated, and an eulogium is bestowed upon the deceased. To this portion of the document palæographers have given the name of the encyclical letter.

The whole was generally surmounted by illuminated paint-

ings, some examples of which I shall hereafter describe. The writing of the mortuary roll was part of the duty of the chanter or precentor. Among the funeral expenses incurred on the death of William Excestre, prior of Bury St. Edmund's in 7 Hen. VII., is this, "Item, solut' Precentori vjs. viijd. vz. *pro rotulo suo scribendo* \*."

I am not aware that any one of these rolls has been published entire, nor indeed that any have been more than slightly or incidentally described; and I have therefore thought it might be desirable to collect together such scattered notices as have occurred to me, or have been communicated by those who have kindly assisted me in this inquiry.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to make any remarks on the practice of offering prayers for the repose of the dead, which is known to have been adopted at a very early period. Our more immediate subject is the communication which was kept alive between the several religious houses, and the participation which they made in their intercessions for deceased members.

One of the amplest authorities on the usages of the Church is the great work of Martene, "*De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*;" and from that source I shall in the first place abstract such particulars as relate most directly to the present subject.

In the tenth chapter of his fifth book, Martene treats of all those ceremonies which were performed about deceased monks, from the moment they expired to the completion of their burial; extracting at full those passages of ancient consuetudinals, &c., which furnish the particulars.

Among these, a MS. consuetudinal, which belonged to the celebrated monastery of Farfa, in the states of the Church, about twelve miles distant from Rome, directs that "*breves*," or notices issued for the soul of the deceased, should be made by the almoner, and circulated by the cellarer, to other abbeys or cells.

In the abbey of Bec, in Normandy, when any of its monks died abbat of another church, the chanter of Bec made for him a hundred brevia, and the almoner sent them out.

Afterwards, in his thirteenth chapter, Martene proceeds to detail the various modes in which suffrages for the dead were performed. He states that mass was offered on the third, the seventh, the thirtieth, and the anniversary day after the

\* Regist. Curteys, in Mus. Brit.

funeral. Sometimes, he adds, the third, ninth, and fortieth days were observed. He then describes the observances peculiar to monks ; among which a letter sent to neighbouring monasteries to announce the day of the funeral, is mentioned in the *Concordia Dunstani*.

In the thirteenth chapter of his fifth book, § 36, Martene speaks more immediately of the *brevia mortuorum*. He states that the monasteries, being mutually bound to make other houses, even those at a distance as well as those that were near, partakers of their prayers, alms, and pious works, whenever any member died were accustomed to transmit letters, signifying the death of their brother, and soliciting for him the prayers of the associated monasteries. These letters they called *brevia*, *rolli*, and *rotuli*. Martene then cites several forms of *brevia*, but he does not notice any precatory roll or *titulus*. His earliest examples are passages from the epistles of St. Boniface written in the eighth century : the next is from the *Chronicon Centulense*, the annals of the monastery of St. Riquier, in the diocese of Amiens, addressed by the brethren of that house, "*omnibus Christi militibus*," on the death of "*Domnus Hruodulfus comes, abbasque simul noster*," which occurred about the middle of the ninth century. Of Martene's other examples, the only one that much resembles the form of our precatory rolls is that prescribed in the book of the rites of the Cistercian order : "*Prima Augusti obiit in monasterio N. nonnus N. de N. sacerdos et sacrista ejusdem monasterii : pro cujus anima vestras precamur orationes ex charitate, et orabimus pro vestris.*"

Martene adds that it became customary to send letters of this kind to neighbouring monasteries immediately on the death of the defunct, and to more distant houses once a year, or as might be convenient, when a brief was made containing a list of all the brethren deceased.

The interchange of prayers for the dead was frequently the subject of special agreement. Of this custom there are several instances in the *Liber Vitæ* of the Church of Durham published by the Surtees Society. As an example may be cited the compact between William bishop of Durham, and Vitalis abbat of Westminster, at the beginning of the twelfth century. When either of them should die, the same was to be done for him in each monastery as would be for its own bishop or abbat. When any monk of Durham should die, the con-

vent of Westminster was to make seven full offices for him; each priest was to sing for him one mass, the other brethren were each to sing for him one psalter; and the laymen who knew not the psalter, were each to sing the Pater Noster one hundred and fifty times. And the monks of Durham were to do the same for the monks of Westminster. They also made similar arrangements with the abbeys of Fescamp, Glastonbury, Selby, and others<sup>b</sup>.

Serarius, the editor of the letters of St. Boniface, in the year 1629, boasts of the continuance of this charitable custom in his own day, as well among the fraternities of the Blessed Virgin, as especially in the Society of Jesus of which he was a member, and by whom the names of deceased brethren were sent even from the Indies and the New World, and from Europe thither.

These quotations, it will have been observed, relate chiefly to the deaths of ordinary members of the religious communities. The precatory rolls, however, of which our own examples consist, were all made on the decease of the superiors of their respective houses.

1. The earliest in date is that made on the death of *Matildis the first abbess of Caen*, in the year 1112. It is noticed by Mabillon in his *Annals of the Order of St. Benedict*. This roll is 17 ells long, and contains 254 *tituli*, having been sent round to so many churches and monastic houses both in France and England. In his appendix (tom. v. nos. lxxxiii. lxxxiv), Mabillon has printed the encyclical letter entire, and three or four of the *tituli*, each of them containing several lines of Latin poetry.

2. The next in point of date was made on the death of *Vitalis, the first abbat of Savigny*, in the year 1122. This has been briefly described by the late M. Lechaudé d'Anisy in the *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*. It contains about 250 entries or *tituli*, and M. d'Anisy remarks that the number and variety of the verses is sufficient to shew perfectly the state of Latin versification at the commencement of the twelfth century<sup>c</sup>. He has given, however, only one specimen, which is that which was contributed by the English

<sup>b</sup> Liber Vitæ Dunelm. pp. 71 et seq., and pp. 32, 33.

<sup>c</sup> Shortly after, M. de Tellier, member of the same society, offered some brief remarks on the versification of the roll,

which are printed in the same volume, pp. 311—317. It appears that a transcript of the whole was made by M. d'Anisy, but it is believed that no more of it has yet been published.

abbey of Abingdon. Its hexameters rhyme once in each line, as well as each two lines together, as follows :

Vita brevis, casusque levis, nec spes remeandi.  
 Quanta seres hinc tanta feres, sit cura parandi.  
 Plura seras ut plura feras, ne non seruisse  
 Peniteat, cum nil valeat tibi penituisse.  
 Qui revocas quod in arce locas, Petre, jure potenti  
 Huic aperi valvas, superi plaudant venienti.

On the other side of the roll, says M. d'Anisy, is a kind of biography of the kings, princes, and founders of religious houses, and of their abbats. This roll, which is more than forty feet long, and in excellent preservation, is now deposited among the archives of Lower Normandy.

3. The first English precatory roll which I have been able to trace, is that which was circulated on the death of *Lucy, prioress and foundress of the church of the Holy Cross and of St. Mary of Heningham, or Hedingham, in Essex*, which monastery is said to have been founded in 2 Richard I. This roll is noticed by Weever in his *Funerall Monuments*, and was in his time in the possession of the earl of Oxford, in whose family the patronage of the nunnery had been, as descendants of the foundress. Its encyclical letter and some other extracts are given in the *Funerall Monuments*, edit. 1631. pp. 621-2, and are quoted in the *New Monasticon*, vol. iv. p. 436. Again, without reference to Weever, a description and some extracts from it were communicated to Hearne by Thomas Ward, M.A., Fellow of Oriel, and printed in the *Introduction to Leland's Itinerary*, 3rd. edit. 1769, vol. v. p. xxx. I am not, however, informed where this roll is now preserved.

4. The next I have met with in point of date (and it is a century and a half later) is that of *William Bateman, bishop of Norwich*, and founder of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, who died in 1354. This roll, having belonged to Mr. Robert Hare, and afterwards to Mr. Beaupré Bell, was presented to Trinity Hall by the latter in 1729. The encyclical letter, which is of considerable length, is printed in *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, lib. vii. no. 1. pp. 239—241.

5. In the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham is the roll made in behalf of *John de Hemingburgh, prior of Durham*, who died in 1416. It is deprived of its illumination.

6. Of the roll for *Richard Notingham, prior of Coventry*, who died in 1453, the preliminary discourse is also printed in

Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, lib. viii. no. 5. It was communicated from a MS. in the possession of a friend at Leicester. in which it occurred at fol. 92. From this it seems that it was not taken from the roll itself, but was either a modern transcript from one, or a copy of the eulogium, preserved at the time of its composition in a monastic register.

7. The roll for *William Ebchester and John Burnby*, two successive *priors of Durham*, the former of whom died in 1456, and the latter in 1464, is preserved in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham<sup>d</sup>. In this case it is clear that no attempt had been made to make an itinerary for the prior who died in 1456, until his successor's death had ensued eight years after. The encyclical letter has been printed in Rud's Catalogue of the Durham MSS., fol. 1825, p. 436. The roll measures thirteen yards in length by nine inches in breadth; one yard at its head is occupied by the illumination. This is arranged in three compartments, under a rich canopy of architecture. In the upper compartment is a representation of the Deity on a throne, with the soul of the deceased ascending. Below is the prior's body on the death-bed, surrounded by weeping Benedictines of both sexes, nineteen in number; and the third subject is its burial, under a rich canopied tomb. The *tituli* shew that its bearers visited not less than six hundred and twenty-three religious houses, each of which added the customary verse,

Vestris nostra damus, pro nostris vestra rogamus.

To which Mr. Raine observed only one exception, in which the monastery of St. Paul at Newenham, co. Lincoln, had expressed the same sentiment in different language—

Quod dedimus vestris, et vos impendite nostris.

8. I have next to mention, and am able to exhibit, a small portion of the roll made upon the death of *Henry Medbourne, abbat of Osolveston, or Ouston, in Leicestershire*, in the year 1502. It had been used for two centuries as the cover of a register, and is consequently in a very worn condition. Some portions, however, may yet be deciphered, with the traces of initial letters, and other ornamental paintings. In the upper corner are the arms of the abbey, Sable, three bars argent.

<sup>d</sup> Besides the two rolls now mentioned as being preserved in the Library at Durham, I am informed by the Rev. James

Raine that there are others among the records in the Treasury.





**MORTUARY ROLL OF WEST DEREHAM ABBEY.**

Illuminated Initial C, with the arms of the abbey, and rebus of the name Dereham

OBSEQUIES OF JOHN DE WIGENHALE, ABBOT OF WEST DEREHAM. Date, about 1440.

In the first initial is seen the figure of St. Andrew, to whom the monastery was dedicated. Two *tituli* follow, each with a large initial T. One is the *titulus* of the abbey of Osolveston itself, the next of the house of St. John the Baptist (the name defaced). At the foot of the fragment is the *titulus* of the abbey of Peterborough, comprised in two long lines—

“Titulus Monasterii Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli de Burgo ordinis sancti Benedicti Lincolnensis diocesis. Anima Dompni Henrici Medburne. Vestris nostra damus, pro nostris vestra rogamus.”

These are all the mortuary rolls of which I have either ascertained the existence, or discovered any existing remains, (excepting such as may be deposited in the treasury at Durham,) besides that of the abbey of *West Dereham*, now before us: this will be found not the least remarkable of the whole, both in its original design and in its history. We will first proceed to its description. It had, no doubt, originally been much longer, but what now remains is a roll measuring 4 ft. 5½ in. long, by about 12 in. wide, formed of two membranes. To the upper one is attached a piece of soft leather, 25 in. long, lined with linen cloth; serving as a wrapper for its preservation. On the upper membrane is an architectural design, in red ink, partially illuminated, representing a piece of tabernacle-work of three stages as shewn by the annexed engraving. In the highest is the Eternal Father enthroned, and supporting the crucifix, which rests on the tripartite mound; on one side is seen, on a grassy hillock, covered with trees, an abbat kneeling; he is vested in a pink cope with red orfrays, over the white tunic of the Premonstratensians. He holds a pastoral staff, and on a scroll from his mouth is written—*o deitas trina pastorem cum grege obina*, reading on, at his left side—*dirige ptege me ioh̄n l̄pn abbot sine fine*. This represents the abbat who succeeded the deceased, and behind him are six monks in white. The background of the whole of this compartment is richly diapered with colour and gold; the figures are illuminated, and the following peculiarity deserves notice, that the whole of the architectural design, exclusive of the diapered back-ground, is tinted bipartite, or paly, of two contrasted colours; the dexter half being pale violet, or slate-colour, the sinister moiety pink. This colouring extends below the upper stage of the design, and ceases abruptly about half way on the lower part

of the second stage of the buttresses on either side, in a line with the head of the Virgin.

In the next division is seen the blessed Virgin, in an aureola of gold and purple, surrounded by cherubs and seraphs. Her mantle is blue, with an ermine cape and lining; the back-ground represents the sky, hills covered with trees, &c., as if this stage of the shrine-work were open. Below, under a flat arch, foliated, groined, &c., is represented the interment of John de Wygenhale. He is deposited in a raised altar-tomb of bluish marble, placed on a pavement of tile arranged light and dark in alternate triangles diagonally. He has on his head a round black scull-cap: he wears the *cappa* with a *capucium*, a sleeveless garment of white woollen cloth, under which is a rochet (?) nearly as long as his white tunic. It is tinted of a bluish white colour, apparently to represent a thin semi-transparent texture. His crosier is laid over his left arm, crossing the body diagonally: the hands being dropped at his sides in a lifeless attitude. Behind, at the head and foot, stand two acolytes, wearing albs, and bearing lighted torches. Near the head are three ecclesiastics habited in funeral copes, of a violet or black colour, diapered with golden trefoils; the orfrays are red and gold, and the tippet or hood, of the same colours, covers the shoulders. Under these copes they wear albs with black and gold apparels, the amices being of the same suit. The principal monk, who holds a crosier in his left hand, and probably is the abbat John Lyn, wears a stole black and gold, crossed over his breast. He has his right hand on a book, held before him open by the deacon (?), who wears a similar cope, but without a stole; and behind appears the subdeacon (?), who holds the holy-water *strenkyl* upraised. To their right appear two monks holding an open book between them, and attired like the deceased abbat, with the exception of the scull-cap. Four other monks, one of them vested in an alb and amice, with apparels of black and gold, and bearing a processional cross, complete the group, around the tomb of Abbat John de Wygenhale. The back-ground of this compartment is coloured dark green, diapered with gold, in a fretty pattern.

The illuminated initial U. of the encyclical letter contains a scutcheon of the arms of the abbey, viz., Azure, a crozier between three stag's heads or; under which is represented in a park (or little meadow-pasture, surrounded by trees, a

*ham*) a deer couchant, collared and chained, on his flank the syllable *ham*, thus doubly forming a rebus of the name of the place, Dere-ham.

The few *tituli*, which may now be traced on the back of the roll, are those of the monasteries of Christ Church, at Twynham in Hampshire, Tichfield, Bury St. Edmund's, Lowth Park, and Kirkstall, and so on. They will be found after the encyclical letter appended to this memoir.

9. The latest English roll that I have to mention was also the most magnificent. The four illuminations at its head alone occupied a depth of fifty-two inches, and they were nearly ten inches wide. The roll itself must have been very ponderous. It commemorated *John Islyppe*, who died *abbat of Westminster* in 1522: his portrait at whole length is represented in the first illumination, his death-bed in the second, the funeral-hearse in the third, and his monumental chapel, as still existing, in the fourth\*. These illuminations, which are exceedingly well drawn, particularly the figures, and give also faithful representations of parts of Westminster abbey, are engraved of the same size as the originals in plates xvi. to xix. of the fourth volume of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, and in plate xx. is engraved a large initial U., measuring 6 inches by 8, and representing the abbey church with three scenes, an abbat giving a charter, a royal coronation, and an abbat sending away a messenger from the west door, who is the bearer of the said charter, or of a letter. The work of the western towers appears to be in progress. These plates were published in 1808, having been engraved, as it was stated, "after an original drawing on a roll of vellum in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries." They were accompanied by three pages of letter-press, containing a description of the illuminations, and by a copy of the ceremonial of Abbat Islyppe's funeral from a book in the College of Arms: but no further account of the roll itself or its contents was given, nor even was it stated to what word the letter U served as the initial. It may, however, be conjectured that it was the first letter of the word "*Universis*" with which this precatory roll, like that exhibited to this meeting by Sir Thomas Hare, commenced. It is greatly to be regretted that the present fate of this roll is unknown. It is not men-

\* The hearse of Abbat Islyppe has been copied in Sharpe's *Coventry Mysteries*. 4to. 1825. Pl. x. p. 191.

tioned in the catalogue of the Society's Manuscripts, made in 1815.

We have now to consider the particulars which may be derived from the encyclical letter itself. At first sight it appears to relate to an abbat who died in the year 1520; but on further examination that date is found to be written on an erasure, and so also is the date at the close of the letter, the latter indeed blundered in an unintelligible manner. The abbat's name also has been erased, at least his surname, and were it not for the *Tituli* we should not have been informed that the roll had been made for John de Wygenhale. Again, at the commencement of the letter, the name of John Lynn, who was Wygenhale's successor in the abbacy, and which, as we have seen, is preserved in the first illumination, has been erased, and *Willelmus* written in its place: and so also, where the term of years that Wygenhale had presided over the monastery was mentioned, there is another erasure.

We are thus obliged to have recourse, for the facts of Wygenhale's incumbency and death, to other sources of information: and the truth proves to be that his death really took place nearly seventy years before the present apparent date of the roll.

John Saresson, alias Wygenhale, was a native of the district of Wygenhale in Marshland, which consists of four parishes, in the hundred of Freebridge, Norfolk. On the 28th Dec., 1425, being then styled "Mr. John Saresson, licentiate in the canon law," he was presented by the convent of Wendlyng in Norfolk to the rectory of Yaxham, which in 1429 he exchanged for the rectory of Oxburgh, on the presentation of the abbey of West Dereham. In the latter year also he first occurs as abbat of this monastery. In 1436 he was vicar-general to the bishop of Norwich; and on the 25th Feb., 1450, we find him acting as "Doctor of the Decrees, Commissary and Vicar-General." On the 11th Aug., 1444, he was collated to the deanery of the college of St. Mary-in-the Fields at Norwich<sup>g</sup>; and on the 26th Oct., 1447, he was instituted to the prebend of St. Mary's mass in the same collegiate church<sup>h</sup>. In May, 1444, he was collated to the rectory of St. Mary's, Massingham Magna, which he held until 1452. In 1449 he attended as the bishop's vicar-general at the cere-

<sup>g</sup> Blomefield, fol. i. 181.

<sup>h</sup> Blomefield, fol. edit. iii. 492.

<sup>e</sup> Willis's Abbies, ii. 150.

mony of erecting the priory of Wymondham into an abbey, and on that occasion he is characterized by John of Whethamstede, the St. Alban's chronicler, as "vir altæ discrecionis et suorum gravitate pollens." It may therefore be fairly concluded that he deserved the high character which is bestowed upon him in this mortuary letter, and that its eulogies were not entirely words of course.

There still remain some interesting points of information with respect to mortuary rolls, which may be collected from the present encyclical letter. The roll first made on the death of Abbat Wygenhale was entrusted to a bearer who died on his journey; whereupon the present roll was made, and committed to the care of a new messenger, for whom the abbat and convent request charitable entertainment. They also desire that the names of their brethren and friends inscribed in lists sent by the messenger might be made partakers in the benefit of their prayers. These it may be supposed were such members of their fraternity as were dead since the last opportunity of sending them round to the associate monasteries<sup>1</sup>.

The erasures and interpolations made in the encyclical letter, (some of which have been already described, and all are shewn in the copy subjoined to these remarks,) betray an attempt to render the roll available to a repetition of its original object at a period long subsequent to its first composition. It may be imagined that the itinerant life of the *breviator* offered the means of supporting one member at least of a fraternity, which, whilst it might lead to the acquisition of valuable information or other contingent advantages, was some relief to the funds of the community, and not altogether disagreeable to the individual employed. But it may be doubted that the alterations in the roll were at all the work of the convent of West Dereham. The house must have fallen into decay and poverty indeed, if, after preparing two rolls on the death of Abbat Wygenhale, its members attempted to make the old roll serve another turn for a later abbat defunct. Nor does the name *Willelmus* as the successor of an abbat named John, who had presided for two years, in any way correspond with the calendar of the abbats of West Dereham given by

It is not, however, clear that these were not the names of living persons. The term *familiares* was probably applied to

secular persons, their benefactors, and others who for some consideration were associated in the benefits of their prayers.



Blomefield, and in the new edition of the *Monasticon*. Above all, when we look at the confusion as to dates, the year of the abbat's decease being altered to 1520, and, in absurd contradiction to this, the date at the close of the document first turned to 1507, and then again altered to 1518: when all these circumstances are considered, it is difficult to resist a suspicion that, in the corrupt age shortly before the Reformation, this roll was used, or an attempt made to use it, in an unauthorized and dishonest manner; and this suspicion is supported by the apparent want of success, as no other name but that of *John Wygenhale* occurs in the remaining *tituli*.

The monks employed to carry round these precatory rolls were termed *breviatores*, and there are among the records at Durham numerous licenses, or letters of credence granted to them on their departure.

The manner in which in early times they were received on their visits, is described in a convention made in the year 1174, between the monks of Dijon and Rheims: the terms of which were these. When any monk of either house visited the other he was to be considered as one of their own, as long as he would remain. For the deceased monks of the other house, they were to do as for their own, except that they were not required to send out briefs, nor to place their names in their own calendar. When the brief announcing the death of one of the other house was brought, immediately after its recital an office was performed, and on the morrow a mass *cum tractu*, and then seven offices and seven masses in the convent. By each of the priests one mass was to be said for the defunct; by those who did not sing mass, fifty psalms, or fifty times "*Miserere mei Deus*," or the "*Pater noster*" if they knew nothing else. For thirty days "*Verba mea*" was to be repeated after matins. The visitors, whether one or more, were to receive one prebend in the refectory for as many days, and were to be inscribed in the calendar with their friends [*familiaribus*]. This association was confirmed in the chapter house at Dijon on the festival of the Holy Cross, under the presidency of Peter abbat of Rheims and Philip abbat of Dijon, in the year of our Lord 1174<sup>1</sup>.

I would finally remark that these rolls are not only objects of curiosity, as illustrative of ancient manners and ancient art, and it may be added of the scriptorial powers of the greater

<sup>1</sup> Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, 1723, p. 159; *Liber Vitæ Dunelm.*, p. xvi.

and inferior monasteries<sup>k</sup>; but they may sometimes prove, like most other records, of historical value. Thus the roll of Caen has been quoted in the Journal of the Institute by Mr. Stapleton, as affording the only known evidence that among the daughters of William the Conqueror was one named Matilda<sup>l</sup>.

The publication of an English mortuary roll of some extent, such as that of Priors Ebchester and Burnby, at Durham, would probably supply the names of many minor houses and cells now forgotten. It would at least present on the best authority the names and description of those which were visited; as their designations, and the order to which they respectively belonged, are in every case distinctly stated by their own scribes. The evidence of these documents might thus become the means of correcting many errors and clearing up many doubts in the works of Dugdale and Tanner, and render material assistance to the researches of the historian and topographer.

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*Copy of the Encyclical Letter inscribed upon the Precatory Roll issued by the Abbey of West Dereham on the death of Abbat John de Wygenhale, about the middle of the fifteenth century, with the TITULI indorsed thereon<sup>m</sup>.*

UNIVERSIS sancte matris ecclesie filiis, ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, *Willelmus*<sup>n</sup> . . . . . abbas Monasterii beate Marie virginis de Westderham, ordinis Premonstratensis, Northwicensis diocesis, et ejusdem loci humilis Conventus, cum prostrato spiritu, salutem, et quicquid dulcius hauriri valeat de latere redemptoris. Cum cujuslibet tempus et respondeat et congruat equilibriter fatalitati, mortalis que quilibet moriendo vivens vivit, nec ullum temporis impendium cujuspian neci viventis ullatinus est exemptum; ad mortem igitur geniti, ad moriendum nati, vite spacium momentanee velocitate non intellecta transcurrimus, lugentes et gementes humane condicionis miserias pariter et inedia. Sunt que nostre oracionis principium, lamentacio et ve: talia quidem sunt quasi prima nostre mortali-

<sup>k</sup> "The large monasteries write their title in a bold, vigorous hand, whilst the poor establishments can scarcely scrawl their name. The one could afford to maintain a well-taught scribe, but the other could not."—Mr. Raine, in Rud's Catalogue, p. 437.

<sup>l</sup> Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 25. Mr. Stapleton, however, informs me that he has since discovered that this Matilda is

mentioned once in Domesday Book.

<sup>m</sup> The contracted words in this document have here been printed in *extenso*; and some words, now scarcely to be decyphered with precision, having been written by a second hand over erasures in the original document, are printed in Italic.

<sup>n</sup> An erasure, over which a name, nearly illegible, has been written.

tatis elementa, dum quotquot in lacrimarum valle nascimur, notulam emittimus doloris et planctus; vagientes nati, nascentes heu morituri; in peccato concipimur, in dolore nascimur, in labore vivimus et erumna, morimur que in angustia; duplatur vero hominis miseria dum non solum corpus afficitur, sed et anima. O! quo devenit illa nostre prime condicionis dignitas, qua ad imaginem dei et similitudinem factus legitur prothoplastus: concidit. heu concidit et dilapsa est, vix in anima illius tenuissima remanserunt indicia, videlicet racionalitas et immortalitas: pereat ergo culpa per quam homo sic nasci permeruit, ut potius dicendus sit mori quam nasci, dum nascitur moriturus, homo inquam natus de muliere; et ob hoc cum reatu brevi vivens tempore, ideo cum continuo metu repletus multis miseriis, propterea cum fletu deflendus quod natus sit, erubescendus quod nudus, gemendus quod pauper. O! quid miserius, instabilius ve, quam hodie in throno, cras in tumulo; modo in curribus et in equis, sed velut in momento in escam datur vermibus. Et licet philosophicum sit mortem contemnere, nemo tamen habita relatione carnis ad naturam venientem citra molestias hilaris excipit fatalitatem: unde nisi martiribus mori fuisset molestum, morientibus non emergeret ex morte meritum. Nos igitur, super occasum pie memorie patris, nostri Abbatis, dñi Johannis<sup>o</sup> . . . . . plurimum contristati, et penetrabili meroris aculeo afflicti, consolacionis uberibus foveri appetimus, ut apud aures pietatis vestre exaudicionis valeamus gratiam obtinere. Rogantes humiliter et devote, quatinus devotis orationum suffragiis, sanctis sacramentorum remediis, aliis que beneficiorum adminiculis, ipsum memoratum patrem illius divine pietatis affluencie, una nobiscum, dignemini commendare: quem divina providencia *quarto decimo Kal. Novembris*, anno domini millesimo, cccc<sup>mo</sup>. *vicesimo*<sup>p</sup>, rebus humanis eximi, et cum palma victorie disposuit ad requiem invitari, qui *duobus annis* (*sic* annis ac amplius Abbathiam predictam nobiliter rexit; cujus in terris subjectorum extitit speculum et regula: cujus conversacionis fragrantia cuilibet in carne degenti exemplar honestatis et forma: hic enim erat virtutum fluminibus delibutus, in oracionibus assiduus, in judicio justus, in verbis alter crisostomus, humilium minister et socius dilectus, et honoratus non minus a dñis quam ab universa familia, inter peritos disertus, cunctis se amabilem et gratum exhibebat; erat enim aspectu hilaris, vultu serenus, sermone jucundus, in conversacione mansuetus, societate affabilis, suis pariter et extraneis gratus et benignus, mitis, misericors, omnibus virtutibus congruebat. Sed cum in mundo nullus est a sordibus mundus, nec infans unius diei. Orantes ergo obsecramus, fratres carissimi, ut caritas vestra magis ac magis abundet, et per viscera consolacionis vestre nostris dignemini mederi fletibus, et dicti nostri patris reatibus misereri, ut vestris oracionibus mundatus sui conditoris vultui presentetur. Et quia hunc Rotulum, post alium rotulum quem eodem sui obitus anno tradidimus *Johanni foster*, tunc portitori, qui decessit in fatis, ad singulas Conventuales ecclesias deputavimus

<sup>o</sup> An erasure; this word may however be by the first hand.

<sup>p</sup> An addition of a fifth C. appears to

have been made by the second hand to this date.

dirigendum, universitati vestre devotissime supplicamus, quatinus ejusdem rotuli portitori *Nicholao scrop* victualia caritative conferatis, ut melius prolixioris vie sue spacia vestris suffultus presidiis valeat peragraré: vocentur etiam, si placeat, in partem vestrorum beneficiorum fratres et familiares nostri, quorum nomina in transmissis per eundem breviculis inseruntur. Nos vero, deo volente, pro nostre modicitatis competencia, cum similis vobis casus ingruerit, quamcito requisiti fuerimus, libencius vicem mutuam rependemus. Universitatem vestram sanctificet et salvet fidelium conditor et redemptor. Acta in capitulo nostro, apud Westderham predictum, *primo die Mensis Octobris*, Anno domini Millesimo, *Quingentesimo octodecimo septimo*<sup>a</sup>. Perpes solamen defunctis omnibus, amen.

On turning the roll the following indorsements may be decyphered, with considerable difficulty, inscribed upon the upper part of the first membrane.

Titulus monasterii xpi ecclesie de Twynham, ordinis Sancti Augustini, Wyntoniensis diocesis. Anima dompni Johannis Wygenhale, abbatis de Westederham, et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum, per misericordiam dei in pace requiescant. Amen. Vestris nostra damus, pro nostris vestra rogamus.

Titulus monasterii beate marie de Tychefelde, ordinis premostratensis, wyntoniensis diocesis. Anima dñi Johannis Wygenhale, Abbatis de Westederham, et anime fidelium defunctorum, per misericordiam dei in pace requiescant. Amen. Vestris nostra damus, pro nostris vestra rogamus.

Orate pro anima Johannis et Johanne de<sup>r</sup> . . . . .

Titulus monasterii beate marie virginis, et Sancti Edmundi regis et martiris, de Bury. Anima dompni Johannis Wygenhale, abbatis de Westederham, et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum, per dei misericordiam in pace requiescant. Amen. Vestris nostra damus, pro nostris vestra rogamus.

Titulus monasterii beate marie et sancti Michaelis<sup>a</sup>. . . . .

Titulus monasterii beate marie de parco lude, ordinis cisterciensis, Lincolnensis Diocesis. Anima dompni Johannis Wygenhale, abbatis de Westederham. Vestris nostra damus, pro nostris vestra rogamus . . . . .

Titulus monasterii Beate marie de kirkestalle, ordinis cisterciensis, Eboracensis diocesis, etc.

On turning the roll upside down, the following endorsements also appear on the back of the lower membrane, namely, inscribed in the contrary direction to the encyclical letter written on the face of that membrane.

Titulus ecclesie Cathedralis Beate Marie Wygorn. Anima Dompni Johannis Wignale et Anime omnium fidelium defunctorum in pace requiescant. Amen. Vestris nostra damus, pro nostris vestra rogamus.

<sup>a</sup> The first syllable of quingentesimo is by the second hand, and only partially fills the space in which the word quadringentesimo, four hundredth, had been originally written. The word *septimo* is crossed out

with the pen.

<sup>r</sup> Interpolated in a much later hand than the rest.

<sup>s</sup> This line is almost illegible.

The roll being then again turned, the following inscription appears, scarcely legible, written in the same direction as the encyclical letter.

Titulus monasterii Sancti Jacobi extra<sup>t</sup> Northampton, Lincolnensis diocesis, ordinis Sancti Augustini. Anima dompni Johannis . . . . . et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum, per misericordiam dei in pace requiescant. Vestris nostra damus, pro nostris vestra rogamus.

On the reverse of the wrapper, which is of soft leather lined with linen attached to the upper membrane, as before described, is found written the word *Agnebale*.

At the close of a MS. of the monastery of Jumieges, now in the Public Library at Rouen, which contains the rule of St. Benedict in Latin and French, followed by a kalendar of their deceased brethren, occurs on the reverse of the last leaf the draft of an encyclical letter, entitled,—“Prohemium rotuli qui portatur pro defunctis.” After which it is added, “In dicto rotulo post prohemium possunt scribi hic versus,—

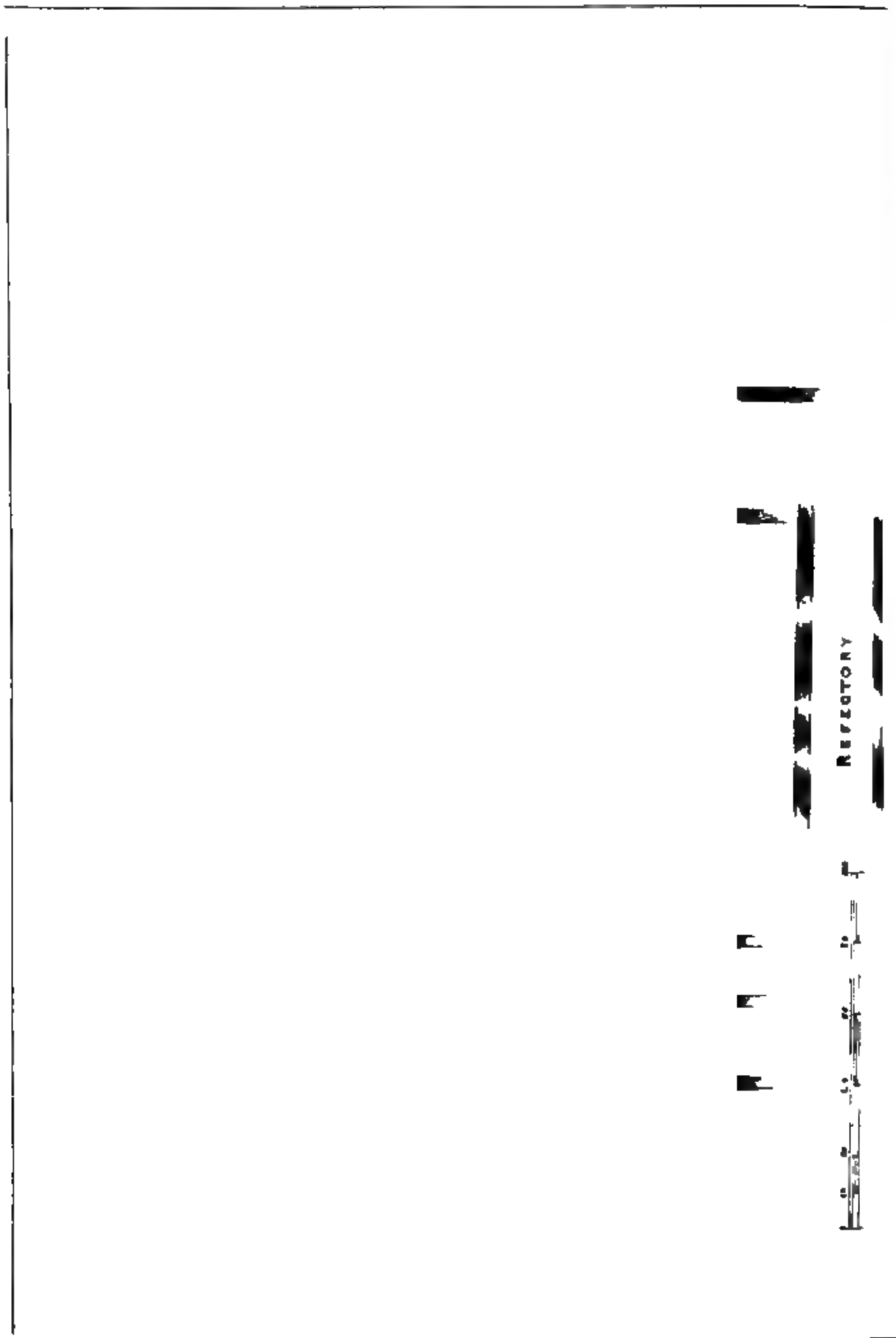
Fratribus electis humilis grex Gimegiensis  
Coenobii semper mansure gaudia vite,  
Quod petitis functis pro vestris solvere prompti  
Poscimus, haud pigeat pariter hoc reddere nostris.”

Then follows “Littera abbatis et conventus pro portitore rotuli defunctorum.” He is styled “nostrum rotuliferum et nuntium specialem.” At the commencement of the same volume are memoranda of the various services the house of Jumieges was bound to perform for the several monasteries in association with it, as in the case of the churches of Durham and Westminster, cited at the commencement of this paper.

<sup>t</sup> Or possibly *juxta*, as this priory is usually designated.



PLAN OF WYMONDHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK.







**WYMONDHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK.**

VIEW, LOOKING NORTH EAST

## WYMONDHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK.

THE remarkable outline of this building as it first strikes the eye from a distance, cannot fail of inviting us to form conjectures as to its arrangement, its design, and its architectural history. We see a lofty western tower, and a nave with aisles and a clerestory, such as might belong to any large parish church of the fourteenth or fifteenth century in Norfolk or Suffolk. Their type must be familiar to the traveller through that part of England. But eastward of the nave is an octagonal tower, neither so massive, nor in its present state so lofty, as that at the west end; though it may possibly have been finished in such a manner as to give it an equal or greater height. This feature gives a new character to the whole; which will be pronounced to be a large conventual church, of which the nave, with a western belfry tower, and an octagonal central lantern, are remaining, the choir and transepts being in ruins. But on a nearer approach we should find reason to modify our opinion; for not only does this eastern tower appear never to have had transepts, but it does not even open into the nave, except by two small doors near the western angles. The large eastern arch which opened into the choir remains perfect, and is very lofty and beautiful; but there is no corresponding western arch. The tower, though attached to the east wall of the present church, is in fact an independent western tower to another church now destroyed.

On tracing this church, which can be done without much difficulty, we find that the present tower does not belong to the original intersection, but stands to the westward of it. The plan of the transepts is clearly marked out, and a part of the north-western pier of the intersection remains, closely joining the north-eastern pier of the octagon tower. The small area which this pier seems to have occupied may render it doubtful whether the building ever had a central tower of any importance, or, if such ever existed, may account for its destruction at an early period. We also notice that the present south aisle, which does not extend the whole length of the nave, is much wider than the original aisle, of which the

foundations remain, and which give a proportion more consonant to the conventual than the parochial church. And there are vestiges of buildings attached to the south side of the old choir, and a gable standing, supposed to have been a wall of the chapter-house. In a field adjoining the churchyard are some remains which may very well have belonged to the outer wall of the cloisters.

On entering the church, its monastic character develops itself more completely than we have been led to expect from the exterior. We notice that arrangement which is rarely found except in collegiate or conventual churches of considerable importance; the triple division of each bay into pier-arch, triforium, and clerestory. The two former are Norman, worked with great boldness and much enrichment. The latter is mostly Perpendicular and of a more parochial character; it is surmounted by a magnificent timber-roof of considerable pitch.

Our inference after such cursory remarks as have been made, will be that the church was originally a large conventual one; that at some period during the prevalence of the pointed styles the nave was appropriated to parochial purposes, and that the occupants of the different parts of the structure worked with very little reference to each other's designs.

And this is conformable with the generally received history; which I will give from Blomefield's History of Norfolk.

“ Wymondham Priory was founded in the reign of Henry the first by William de Albani, Butler to that King. It was subordinate to S. Alban's abbey; the prior paying one mark of silver to the abbot, on the chief festival of S. Alban. The abbot agreed that this priory might be made an independent abbey whenever it might please the founder, or the King, or any of his successors. About the year 1300 the abbot of S. Alban's began to present a Prior to be confirmed by the Bishop of Norwich; and the monks of S. Alban's, contrary to the foundation [founder's intention] were admitted priors on their Abbot's presentation much against the minds of the true Patrons, till 1448, when it was erected into an independent abbey. John, Abbot of S. Alban's, the seventh of that name, made an Archdeacon, to wit Stephen London, Prior, but afterwards sent commandment to discharge him of his Priorship. Whereat the Prior and Sir Andrew Ogard his Founder in

WYMONDHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK.



ELEVATION OF ONE BAY OF NAVE.



1440 petitioned the King that they might have his licence to obtain a bull from the Pope (Nicholas 5th) erecting the priory of Wymondham into an abbey, which was done accordingly, and Stephen London made the first Prior. The register of S. Alban's says it was dedicated to S. Mary and S. Alban, and was a cell of black monks belonging to S. Alban's, the Abbots of which had continual contests about its patronage."

The choir and church were used in common in 1249; the monks for their daily service having a passage from the monastery, and the parishioners another from the common street. After which the monks agreed with the inhabitants, and took the choir, two transept chapels, and steeple, to themselves, and assigned the nave or body of the church, and the north aisle, to the parish; which continued ever after.

The founder of the monastery at the foundation had his seat or manor house by the stream that runs southward of the church, all which he gave to the monks who inhabited it while the monastery was building, the earl removing his seat to another place north-west of the church. It seems he pulled down the old parish church, and in its place built the present one, with the choir which is now in ruins; it was at first in shape of a cross, and consisted of a choir or chancel with the chapel of our Lady on the north side of it; a tower at the west end between the nave and chancel, which tower (or rather that built in its stead at a later period) is still called the abbey steeple; a nave, north aisle, and south aisle; over which, till the Dissolution, the monks' lodgings were joined to the south side of the church. The two transepts or cross chapels made the cross; that on the north side was the chapel of St. Margaret, and that on the south side of St. Andrew, and the abbey vestry. The monastery itself was a large square court, the church making its north side; and the high wall or gable, now standing on the east side, was the chapter-house. When it was demolished, the south aisle of the church, which was leaved, was demolished also; but the king gave the ground out of the site, to make the present south aisle on; viz. 80 feet in length, and 28 in breadth, the old aisle being only 11 feet broad.

In 31 Hen. VIII. the parishioners and inhabitants petitioned the king to have the following parts of the church granted to them, they paying for the bells, lead, &c., according to valuation. The abbey steeple, the vestry, with all the . . . . aisle on



the south side of the steeple and parish church to the cross aisle, the lead being 44 feet long, and 11 broad. 'The monks' lodgings over the south aisle, 76 feet long, 11 broad. The choir and Lady's chapel to be taken down at pleasure; lead 68 feet long, 30 broad. The chapel of Bishop Becket standing in the middle of the town. The king gave the timber-work of the roof of the chapter-house with the late abbey, with such stone, glass, old windows, &c., there, as shall be fit for the building of the new aisle. Hence it appears that the western tower and bells, the nave, north aisle, north porch, and vestry over it, with the church-yard on the north side, solely belonged to the parish.

In 1573 Queen Elizabeth allowed a large sum to repair the chancel; and at that time the three windows and wall on the north side of the nave, now the chancel, were rebuilt, and the letters R. E. anno 1573, set thereon.

The western tower was begun by the parishioners in 1410. On this the prior and monks indict the townsmen for breaking the porch and wall and erecting the tower and three bells, and for stopping up the door between the nave and chancel; alleging that the church was all theirs, and that the townsmen ought to come to church at the sound of the abbey bells. There was great confusion for a year, till Thomas archbishop of Canterbury came in his metropolitical visitation and settled the matter, licensing the townsmen to build their tower and hang what bells they pleased in it, on condition that they never rang them to disturb the monks; i. e. before six in the morning, or after six at night, and that in the daytime they should be rung for divine service, or the dead, only, unless on Christmas day, Easter day, at the coming of the king, archbishop, or bishop; or in case of public enemies, thieves, fire, or robbery. Sir John Clifton, Knt., with the assistance of many benefactors, built the tower, and the top part of the whole nave, as the arms cut on the outside of the north windows shew us. The bells were hung in 1476.

The above historical outline furnishes a clue towards the explanation of such inconsistencies as arise not merely from successive changes of style, or alterations dictated by convenience, but from an evident want of co-operation among the several architects. For many buildings, it may be observed, however various the dates of their different parts, or whatever alteration may have been made from their original



WYMONDHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK.

NORMAN ARCHES, EAST END

BASE IN RUINS, EAST END.

plans, still retain a certain degree of harmony and consistency, as if the later architects studied scrupulously to adapt their works to the designs of their predecessors. In Ely cathedral for instance the relation between the western tower and the central octagon is such as to produce a singularly beautiful effect; whereas in the example before us, it is impossible to conceive that unity of design was the object of the architect who added the western tower to a building whose central tower was the present octagon. This is accounted for by the contests and jealousies of the parties in possession of the different portions of the building.

The Norman work in this church is not very prominent externally. On the south side, between the abbey steeple and the south aisle, are the pier arches and triforium of two bays, now built up, the original Norman aisle having been destroyed. A part of the north-west pier of the original intersection, with the arch of the northern aisle, opening into the transept, now also built up, are, as we have remarked, visible. The Norman work of the interior we will notice presently.

The only Early English remains that I am aware of, are the base of a clustered column in the south-west angle of the north porch, consisting of a central shaft surrounded by six smaller ones (if the number was ever complete) of Purbeck marble or a similar material; and the base of a pier on the south side of the abbey tower, and some portions near it, which seem to have belonged to a passage between the transept and the chapter-house.

I question if there are any portions which can be pronounced as decidedly Decorated. The two clerestory windows nearest the abbey tower, have tracery similar to that in the lower tier of the octagon; but the jamb mouldings are different. The tracery is such as we might find in Decorated work. Now every thing bespeaks the whole of the tower to be purely Perpendicular; but it is not impossible that the clerestory windows may be Decorated, those in the octagon being copied from them; more especially as the same tracery is repeated in the belfry story of the confessedly late western tower.

There are also two windows in the north aisle, eastward of the porch, which while their tracery might belong to the Decorated period, have that peculiar character of moulding, consisting of sharply cut and minute hollows or rounds, which

creates a suspicion that they are the work of a very late period. Such instances will be familiar to any one who has studied a considerable number of village churches. I think I have noticed them frequently in Northamptonshire.

The south aisle we know to be of a late date. It has windows of that plain unfoliated tracery which may be found in Decorated churches, where the openings were left as simple in their outline as possible, probably for the easier introduction of painted glass. The width of this aisle is well fitted for parochial purposes, and it altogether harmonizes with the building.

The Perpendicular is the prevailing style of the exterior. The eastern arch of the abbey steeple has richly moulded piers with embattled capitals, and is well pointed and lofty. The tower is square to a height somewhat exceeding that of the nave parapet. The lower part is engaged in the north aisle and was in the old south aisle, but only seems to have opened into them by doors. Above the roofs of these, on the north and south sides, is a large Perpendicular three-light window. The octagonal part consists of two stages, each having a window of two lights in its cardinal faces, the diagonal ones being occupied by buttresses which rest on the angles of the square part of the tower.

The squinch may be described as a segmental pointed arch of ten orders, all plain, the outer one only having a chamfer. The doors from the eastern tower into the nave are small, and the arches though faced with stone, are turned with brick, interspersed with flints and pieces of stone. The entrances are bricked up. This tower at present terminates abruptly. It is not improbable that the original finish was a wooden spire.

The western tower, though unfinished, is a very noble structure. The present brick parapet has a height of 142 ft. 6 in. from the ground, and 85 ft. 8 in. from the parapet of the clerestory. At each angle of the tower is a bold octagonal turret, tapering in stages, panelled with flint work, and having the angles shafted and moulded. We will describe the face of the tower between the western turrets, as it will give a very good idea of a large parish church tower in Norfolk. The lower compartment has a fine pointed door with shafts in its jamb at considerable distances. Its effect is wonderfully grand from its great depth. The head is enclosed in a square label forming spandrels, on each side of

WYMONDHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK.

WINDOW IN TOWER.

SQUINCH IN TOWER.

CLEREHORY WINDOW.  
SHOWING FLINT-WORK





the door is a pointed cinquefoiled niche, also having square spandrels.

Above is a row of plain shields, in the centre is some kind of badge. Over this is a window of four lights with unfoliated ogee heads, the central mullion being a large mass of masonry, evidently employed for strength. Up to the top of this stage the whole (between the turrets) is faced with ashlar.

Above is a plain stage of flint, surmounted by a band of checquered flint and stone, the upper string of which is embattled. The stage above is also of flint, and contains a pointed window of two lights with square spandrel, worked in stone.

Over this is a plain flint stage. The next is the stage containing the belfry windows; which form a couplet of two-light windows with tracery of a somewhat Decorated character, similar, in fact, as we have observed, to some in the abbey steeple and the eastern part of the clerestory. These are comprised under a crocketed ogee canopy, the space in the head having a quatrefoil in panel set diagonally. Internally the construction shews a large pointed arch turned with brick, beneath which is the stone-work of the couplet of windows; a great part of the space between the heads of these windows and the comprising arch is open to the stone on which the external quatrefoil is cut. The parapet of the tower is a plain one of brick.

The north porch, a rich and beautiful specimen of Perpendicular, occupies the western bay of the aisle, to which, with its parvise, it is equal in height. It has a fine door with shafts and capitals in the jambs, and a deeply moulded architrave. As usual in the style it is contained in the square label, forming spandrels. The front of the parvise is enriched with panels and niches, and surmounted with a parapet having open quatrefoils in circles, and a pierced battlement above. There are square bases of pinnacles at the angles. The buttresses are diagonal.

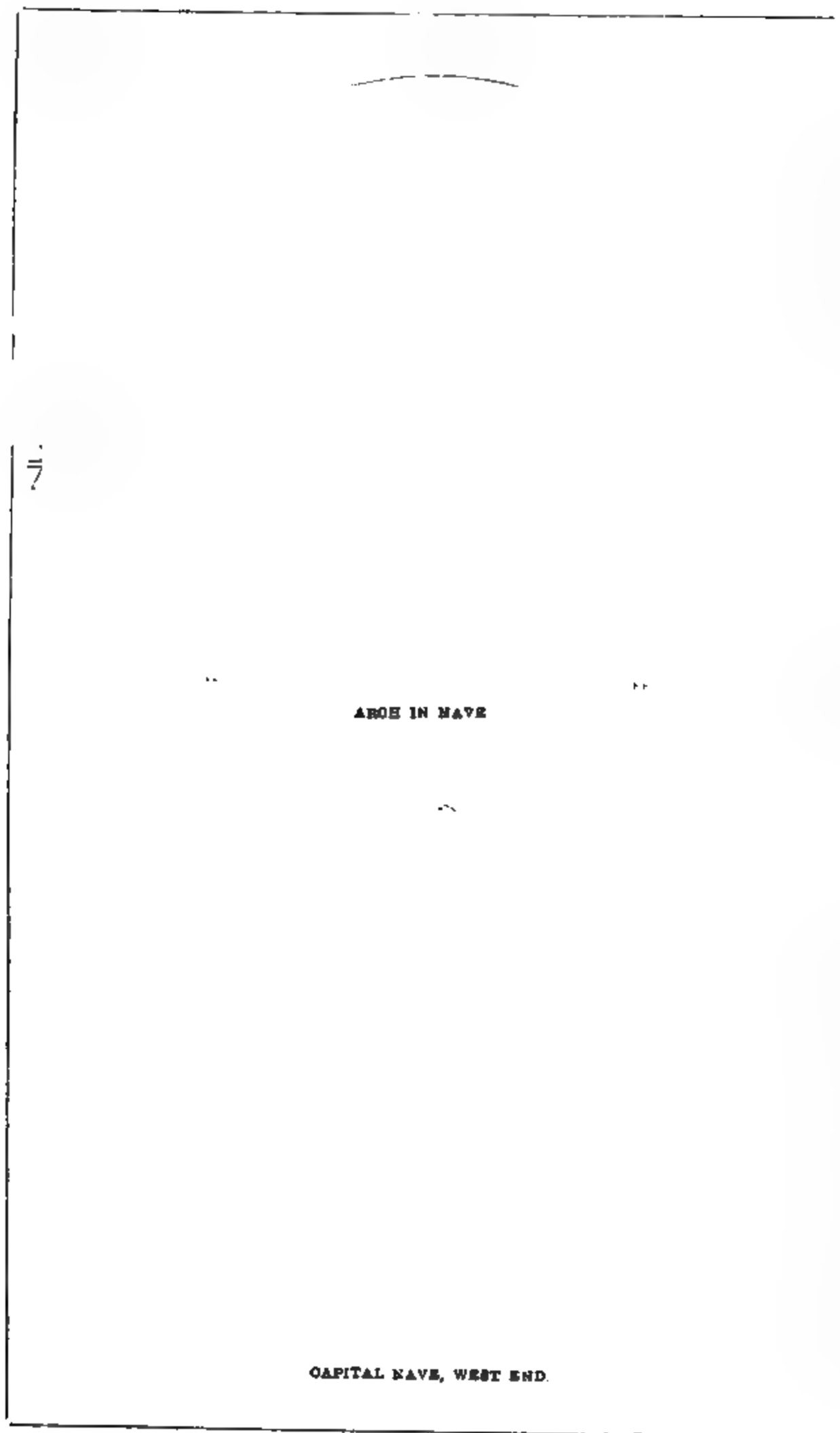
A part of the pierced parapet of the clerestory remains on the north side, and the wall exhibits some good panelling in flint. Perhaps we might best describe the flint panelling which prevails in the eastern counties by saying that to convert ordinary panelling into flint panelling, we should insert a face of flint-work in those parts which correspond with the

plain wall of the building, or the glass of windows, that is, in the panelling or glazing lights, and then pare down the whole to the level of this face, consequently the stone-work will shew no different orders nor arches above the foliations, but the mere spaces which lie between and mark out the lights\*. There is a very good instance of this in Attleborough church, where a flint panelling occurs over the porch, corresponding to the lights of the Decorated or Flamboyant windows in the aisle. The insertions of flint correspond with the glazing of the windows; but the mullions and tracery are represented in flat masonry, of no greater projection than the flint itself. At Cromer, where the whole of the flint-work is most carefully executed, both as to the smoothness of the surface, and the accurate shape and adaptation of the flints themselves, we learn the manner in which the effect is obtained from broken parts, the porches and chancel being in ruins; some of the panels in the fronts of buttresses have lost their flint-work, and we have the pieces of stone, generally of a considerable size, scooped out to the depth of a few inches to receive the flint. There are however in the building before us, as in others, specimens of sunk flint panelling, which of course increases the richness of effect.

On entering the church, we at once see its antiquity. Here the Norman predominates; though the nave of Wymondham is far inferior in scale to those of Norwich and Ely, it somewhat partakes of their character. As in these examples the triforium is a large and important feature, consisting in each bay, like that of the former cathedral, of a single undivided semicircular arch, not much differing in size or elevation from the pier-arch below. The piers and arches are much varied, both in composition and ornament. The arches on the south side have alternately the embattled fret, and the reticulated, the latter being ornamented. Some of the north sides have chevrons on the surface of the archivolt, the faces towards the nave are richer than those towards the aisles. Among the piers we notice the double, and even the triple shaft under one plain order of the arch. The former is found in many large Norman buildings; the latter we see in Norwich cathedral. I mention this in particular, as it is one of the very few cases in Norman architecture, where a sys-

\* It should be understood however that the plane of the whole surface corresponds with that of the outer orders, and not of the sunk parts of the panelling.

**WYMONDHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK.**



7

ABOVE IN NAVE

CAPITAL NAVE, WEST END.





PLATE 1. The Great Pyramid of Giza

1875-1876

THE GREAT PYRAMID OF GIZA

Printed by H. Parker Oxford 1876

tem is pursued essentially at variance with that which pervades the perfectly developed Gothic architecture, in which we notice throughout a kind of ramification, the architrave generally consisting of a greater number of mouldings and faces, than the pier below. Thus a plain round shaft usually supports a member of the architrave moulded into several faces, and angles, where the impost is not continuous. In the case before us this is reversed; an impost of two or more shafts supporting an archivolt of a single face without mouldings, except perhaps a small torus at the edges. In general, however, even in the Norman style, the arch exhibits more mouldings than the pier. Many of the piers seem to have lost their shafts and mouldings, and to have been smoothed down to plain surfaces.

There can be little doubt that all the Norman portion is the original structure of William de Albani, in the time of Henry I.; and it may be therefore instructive to compare it with buildings of precisely the same period. Of these, Tewkesbury church, built by Robert Fitz-Hamon, also in the reign of Henry I., presents the most striking contrast. The piers are lofty, massive, and cylindrical; the span of the arches small in proportion to their height; the triforium, instead of being large and lofty, almost vanishes, being marked by very small couplets of semicircular arches with no string whatever below them; the clerestory and roof, as at Wymondham, are of later date. In Tewkesbury however, as in Gloucester, we find the double shaft under the plain archivolt. This occurs in the tower-arches and the transepts.

It is probable that the clerestory at Wymondham was somewhat raised in height when it was altered in style. The aisles, as we have seen, are evidently much enlarged, so as to adapt the church to parochial purposes. The north aisle is even wider than the nave. The peculiar arrangement of the central or abbey steeple, cut off from the nave except by two small doors, is perhaps somewhat analogous to that of St. Alban's and Croyland abbey, where a large screen, with two side doors instead of a central one, divides the nave from the choir. The ruins of Lilleshall abbey in Shropshire seem to indicate a similar arrangement.

The nave and north aisle have exceedingly beautiful timber roofs; the former of a high pitch, with large star-shaped bosses richly carved at the intersections, and angels on the



hammer-beams. The roof of the north aisle is also coved, and divided into square foliated compartments. There is a frame between each bay, as well as at the centre of the bay; somewhat similar to those of the nave. The spandrels are filled with delicate open-work. The perspective view of this aisle has a very beautiful effect. The roof of the south aisle is comparatively plain. The compartment of the western tower containing the large west window has been vaulted, or intended to be so; the bases of the springers remain.

The font is a very beautiful octagonal one, raised on three steps, and enriched with excellent sculpture. The sides of the basin are occupied alternately by symbols of the evangelists, and angels bearing shields, scrolls, or emblems. These figures are set in square unfoliated panels divided by engaged pinnacles at the angles, terminating at the upper string. The string below is supported by cherubs. The angles of the octagonal shaft are also enriched with figures. There are remains of an inscription round the upper step, and the string at its top is moulded. Another object of interest is a magnificent cinque cento construction occupying the place usually assigned to the sedilia, and of a form that might very well answer that purpose, as it consists of three arches, forming deep recesses, with projecting canopies of a semicircular plan above each; the whole profusely enriched with ornaments of the early revived Italian style. If this structure was actually intended for sedilia, it is perhaps almost unique as an example of that style. If it is a sepulchral monument, I can hardly consider the coincidence in arrangement and position as less remarkable.

There are a few remains of Perpendicular painted glass in the window, but not of sufficient extent to command our notice.

I give such dimensions as may afford a tolerable idea of the scale of the building, which, though not equal to some of the largest of the abbey churches now remaining, Tewkesbury for instance, yet holds a very fair place.

	FT.	IN.
Width between two opposite piers of the nave . . . . .	23	5
Between two adjacent piers . . . . .	7	7
Diameter of a pier from east to west . . . . .	4	10
Total length of the nave interior, from the western tower to the eastern wall . . . . .	112	6
Total width of nave and aisles . . . . .	75	2

WYMONDHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK.

100

SEDILIA



WYMONDHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK.

DOOR, IN ROOF OF NAVE



JAMB OF WINDOW, NORTH AISLE OF NAVE

CAPITAL OF ARCH, IN NAVE.



	FT.	IN.
The original width (with the old Norman aisles) must have been about . . . . .	50	3
Width of the western tower at the front, including turrets, and taken above the base-moulding, about	43	2
Height of western tower from parapet to ground .	142	6
Height of parapet of the clerestory of the nave .	56	10
Distance of some remains in a field, supposed to have belonged to the cloisters, from the line of the south wall of the chapter-house . . . . .	89	3

I could not measure the height of the abbey steeple, but the general view will give a fair idea of it.

I regret that I had not the opportunity of giving more time to the examination of this curious church, but trust that any errors in the foregoing account are those of omission, and not misrepresentation. There are many points open to enquiry. The arrangement of the buildings to the south of the old choir; the plan and eastern termination of that choir; the fact of the existence of any Norman central tower; and the reason why the position of this tower was altered at the rebuilding of it in the Perpendicular style. A comparison with the neighbouring church of East Dereham might be satisfactory; that church having a fine central tower and transepts adjoining transepts of an earlier date, which, like those at Wymondham, are to the eastward. The members of the Institute who visited this church, pronounced, upon a careful examination, that the original central tower stood, as in the case before us, over the eastern transepts. There is probably no vestige remaining to give an idea what was the Norman west front, and the enlargement of the aisles and clerestory has effectually swept away all traces of Norman windows and buttresses. The unfinished state of the western tower is of less consequence, as the county abounds with magnificent towers in a very perfect state, from which we may easily imagine what the design would be if complete. This, however, would undoubtedly have been one of the finest. On the whole, as presenting, both in its earlier and later portions, an admirable specimen of local character, as furnishing an extraordinary combination of parochial and monastic architecture, and as leading us by its anomalies to the study of curious passages in ecclesiastical history, the church we have noticed will be found inferior to very few others as an object of interest to the antiquary.

J. L. PETIT.

**ON ANCIENT GATE-HOUSES;  
CASTELLATED, DOMESTIC, AND ECCLESIASTICAL,  
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THOSE IN THE  
CITY OF NORWICH.  
BY JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A., &c.**

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Read at the Meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Norwich, Aug. 3, 1847.



THE BOOM TOWERS, NORWICH.

BEFORE advertng to, and remarking on objects of antiquity, I cannot resist the impulse of congratulating myself and my hearers on the character and spirit of the present times in devotion to, and appreciation of archæological studies. A new era is to be dated from the first meeting of the archæologists at Canterbury in 1844; since which time many valuable essays have been written, read, and published on various branches of our national antiquities. These papers are not merely interesting from the facts they communicate and the information they impart, but from the sentiments and tone of thinking of the respective authors. The science of archæology, and particularly of architectural antiquities, is now rendered fami-

liar to every diligent student; whilst the dates, styles, and peculiarities of our noble cathedral, and parochial churches, may be ascertained with tolerable precision, from a cursory observation. To Professor Willis the public is deeply indebted, and I am personally ready to acknowledge the obligations I owe him, for the acuteness and talent he has displayed in elucidating the architectural history of the cathedrals of Canterbury, York, Winchester, and Norwich. His vivid and critical account of the last unique edifice, with notices of some interesting parts of the palace, whilst it made me feel humble and mortified by comparison, delighted me by the learning and genius of an University professor, thus exercised in the illustration of a subject which has hitherto been very obscure, and consequently but little understood.

I cannot help contrasting the state of society, when I visited Norwich more than forty years ago, with its condition at the present time. Then the greatest apathy prevailed on antiquarian subjects; the cathedral was in a lamentable state of dilapidation, and neglect, whilst the repairs that had been made and were in progress were heedlessly and tastelessly executed. Now, on the contrary, its officers are actively and liberally occupied in making sound and substantial repairs and restorations, in accordance with the varied styles and character of the old works.

The city of Norwich presents to the examination and study of the archæological student, a series of elaborate GATE-HOUSES, forming the approaches to the cathedral, or monastic precincts, and to the bishop's palace; and until the commencement of the present century it possessed also another series of gate-houses, being the entrances to the city through its surrounding fortified walls.

These two classes of buildings were dissimilar to each other, and presented very different and distinct features: but they may be viewed as separate species of the same genera; the one being strictly military and defensive, whilst the other, though possessing some warlike features and attributes, abound with architectural and sculptural enrichments. Both were designed and appropriated for the residences or homes of warders, keepers, porters, or other officers, whose duty it was to guard and secure the doors and gates in times of tumult and warfare, and to prevent the passage of improper persons in times of peace.



The fortified gate-houses of Norwich were each calculated to accommodate several men, and were constructed with very strong and substantial masonry, and provided with various means of annoying and repelling assailants. They were not only embattled, or crenellated, at their summits, but had machicolations over the entrances, through which destructive missiles and materials might be thrown. Oilets, or round holes with narrow openings, were formed in the walls at every story or floor for the discharge of arrows, and the gates were additionally guarded and secured by portcullises, bars, and other contrivances. Some of these arrangements were also applied to the inner, or secondary gate-houses, which belonged to the precincts of the Cathedral and Palace.

It will be found that all the old cities, and many towns of Britain, were originally surrounded with fortified walls, having tower gate-houses at intervals; the monastic residence of the bishop, abbot, prior, or other lord or governor of the place, (lay or ecclesiastic,) being also enclosed within a wall, provided with other gate-houses. All these buildings serve to indicate the lamentable state of society in which our ancestors lived, and which is delightfully contrasted with that in which it is our good fortune to be placed. Let us therefore be grateful; and whilst we rejoice in the blessings of peace and domestic security, let us inculcate and enforce the advantages of harmony and friendly union amongst nations, with charity and amenity towards each other.

It would be both amusing and edifying to the architectural student and the antiquary to examine carefully the ancient gate-houses of our own country, as well as similar structures which are to be found amongst the architectural relics of Egypt, Greece, Italy, and other foreign nations; so as to deduce from their respective characteristics the history of the people to whom they owed their origin, for whose wants or luxuries they were raised, and whose modes of warfare and civil policy they serve to exemplify and illustrate. Such a review would demand too much time for our present convenience. I will however briefly advert to some of the most remarkable examples both in foreign countries and in our own, and then direct attention more particularly to those of Norwich.

EGYPT.—The *propylæa* of the vast Egyptian temples may be regarded as the oldest, the most singular, and the most interesting gate-houses in the world. Of their vast size, elabo-

rate decorations, and other architectural peculiarities, we have ample evidence in the prodigious ruins on the banks of the Nile. That of the temple of Luxor, at Thebes, is a fine example, being 200 feet long, and 57 feet high. In front of it were two obelisks 80 feet high, and between these and the gateway there were two colossal statues. The towers forming the flanks of the gateway were covered with incised hieroglyphics, and figures of men, women, birds, beasts, &c. The gateway and façade to the temple, at Carnac, is 360 feet wide, and 140 feet high.

GREECE.—The once famed but now desecrated and degraded city of Athens, was surrounded by a wall, in which were numerous gate-houses; buildings of magnitude and strength. The acropolis of that city was entered through a propylon of architectural importance; of which there are sufficient remains to shew the style and character of such edifices in ancient Greece.

ROME.—The Romans, from the continual warfare in which they were engaged, were naturally led to devote much attention to the fortifications of their cities. Rome itself was enclosed within a wall, 14 or 15 miles in circuit, in which were 16 gate-houses, or *portæ*; as, the Porta-Flaminia, the Porta-Pinciana, the Porta-Salario, &c. Pompeii, Naples, Colonna, Bologna, and other Italian cities, had also walls and gate-houses of Roman workmanship.

POMPEII.—The gateway into Herculaneum from Pompeii had a central arched passage, and two smaller lateral archways; resembling Temple Bar, London. The gate was double, so that, when the outer doors had been passed, the assailants could be attacked from a large opening above, and destroyed while they were attempting to force the inner. This building was constructed of brick and lava in alternate courses.

That gate-houses were erected by the Romans in Gaul, we know by the remains existing at Nismes, Treves, and other places. The same ambitious and warlike people adopted similar plans of fortifying and ornamenting their principal towns and stations in Britain: as at York, St. Alban's, Colchester, London, Lincoln, Winchester, Chester, &c. The west gateway at Colchester, and the Newport-gate at Lincoln, both of Roman design, appear to have resembled very closely in their construction that of Herculaneum already noticed.

The GATE-HOUSES erected by our own ancestors since the

Norman Conquest, constitute of themselves a very interesting class. Their forms are greatly diversified, according to their respective purposes and objects. They have generally a great arched opening for travellers on horseback and in carriages, with one, and sometimes two side arches of smaller dimensions for foot passengers. These arches are frequently vaulted over, and ornamented with ribs and bosses. Above the archway is an apartment, (approached by a winding staircase,) in which the warder or porter lived, and where in time of need a small band of guards could be placed, to defend the entrance. In this apartment the apparatus was used to raise or lower the portcullis ; a strong and massive grating of timber, protected with iron, which was let down to close the entrance, when necessary ; and there were also apertures in the walls and floors, from which offensive weapons might be discharged upon an enemy. Besides the portcullis, there was generally a large pair of folding doors, or gates of timber, thickly studded with iron nails, and secured by bars, bolts, and locks. Many of the gates, or doors, had smaller openings, or wickets, in one of their leaves, through which foot passengers were generally admitted ; the entire gate being only opened on necessary occasions. The upper stories of these gate-houses were externally formed as towers, more or less elevated, with or without turrets at the angles, and generally terminated in a plain or machicolated parapet. Some of the gate-houses of old English mansions, and of ecclesiastical and palatial edifices, were richly decorated with niches, statues, buttresses, pinnacles, panelling, &c. ; but those of castles and city walls were generally plain, and more adapted to purposes of defence than architectural display.

The gate-houses of cities were anciently, as stated in Scripture, places of judicature and common resort : the people resorted to them for the administration of justice, and for the settlement of business. They were sometimes market-places for provisions : and the warder, or gate-keeper, was frequently also the receiver of city tolls.

It is well known that London, at a very early time, was surrounded by a wall, with numerous gate-houses. The latter were mostly large buildings ; several of which were standing two centuries ago ; but now they are all removed. Their names are preserved in the streets where they formerly stood, as Newgate, Dowgate, Ludgate, Billingsgate, Aldgate,

Bishopsgate, &c. Besides the city wall and its gate-houses, London, like some other cities, had a range of outworks, in which were gates of less strength than the former, and were denominated *Bars*; as Temple Bar, Holborn Bars, the Bars in Aldgate, Aldersgate-street, &c. Temple Bar, the only one retaining the form of a gateway, is a comparatively modern structure. The principal *monastic* edifices of London had formerly their respective gate-houses, and we are fortunate in the possession of St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, one of the most curious and interesting specimens of the kind. This was the principal entrance to the priory of the order of St. John of Jerusalem.

The gate-houses in the walls of the city of York, locally called *Bars*, are the most remarkable in design and construction of all the military barriers in England. In that city there were five of them: viz., Micklegate-Bar, Monk-Bar, Walmgate-Bar, Fishergate-Bar, and Bootham-Bar, besides five other smaller gates, called *Posterns*;—as Laythorp-Postern, &c. There is a singular *multangular* tower at one angle of the Roman wall of York; the lower part of which is generally allowed to be of Roman construction<sup>a</sup>.

Similar to the Bars of York is the *Bar-Gate*, as it is termed, at Southampton, which is bold and massive in design, but of later date than the Bars of York.

Canterbury had several very interesting gate-houses, both military and ecclesiastical. The city walls were first built by the Romans, but few traces of their work remain. The *West-gate* is the only one left of six *gate-houses*, formerly erected in the line of the city walls. It is a large and imposing structure, the centre being flanked by two very lofty and spacious round towers. It is of the fourteenth century. The gateway to St. Augustine's monastery, Christ Church gate-house (leading to the cathedral precincts), and the Green Court gate-house, are equally interesting specimens of the monastic and domestic class.

Lincoln was also fortified by the Romans. The walls enclosed a quadrangular space, and there was a gateway in the centre of each side. Three of these gates were standing about a century ago; but the northern one only remains. It is called Newport gate. This very interesting building had a

<sup>a</sup> See "The History and Antiquities of the Fortifications of the City of York," by H. F. Lockwood and A. H. Cates, architects. 4to. 1834.

central and two lateral archways: but one of the latter is destroyed. It presents the true characteristics of Roman masonry. "It is," says Stukeley, "the noblest remnant of this sort in Britain. Upon the first sight of it I was struck with admiration, as well of its noble simplicity, as that hitherto it should not have been taken notice of."

At Wells the bishop's palace is enclosed within a moat and walls, with a gate-house which was built by Bishop Erghum before 1400. There is also another gate-house between the City and the Cathedral Close.

There were four gate-houses of entrance to the city of Salisbury, two of which were remaining within the last sixty years. Edward the Third granted a licence to the dean and canons of Salisbury to surround the *close* with an embattled wall of stone in 1327; and in the ensuing year gave a similar licence to the citizens to enclose the *whole city* within a wall of stone, with turrets and battlements. Henry the Third had before given them permission to make a ditch and rampart round the city. The bishop, as lord of the soil, confirmed the grant of King Edward to the citizens, adding permission to make *four gates*. The walls which the citizens thus acquired the right to build, were apparently never begun. The bishop and his clergy were however more assiduous; and they applied the materials obtained by the demolition of the cathedral of Old Sarum, to the erection of a wall surrounding the close of their new cathedral<sup>b</sup>.

With these preliminary observations on the gates of other old English cities, I proceed to consider the *military* and *monastic* GATE-HOUSES OF NORWICH.

About seventeen years ago I had occasion to describe the general features of this interesting place in the following terms, in "The Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities:"—"Norwich may be said to partake more of the characteristics of a German, or a Dutch, than of an English town. It occupies a large area of ground, partly on a ridge, which slopes gradually to the river Wensum on the north and east sides, and to a narrow valley on the south. It extends about one mile and a half from Conisford Gate on the south, to Magdalen Gate on the north, by one mile and a quarter from Bishop's Gate on the east, to Benedict's Gate on the west. Though the streets

<sup>b</sup> Hatcher's History of Salisbury, folio, 1843 (p. 80—84): one of the most elabo-

rate and learned topographical works ever published.

are mostly narrow, and disposed in various directions round the castle, there is much garden-ground interspersed among the houses, whence it has been called *a city in an orchard*. Near the northern end of the ridge, and almost in the centre of the city, is the castle, the keep of which has been raised by ground thrown out of a surrounding fosse. The scarp and counter-scarp of this dry moat are high and steep, and are mostly laid out in pleasure gardens. The area of the ancient castle, included within the walls, consisted of at least twenty-three acres."

Norwich was a large and populous city at a very early period. In the time of Edward the Confessor (A.D. 1006) there were 1323 burgesses and 25 parochial churches; and although the number of inhabitants appears to have decreased when the *Domesday Survey* was taken, the churches had increased; no less than 54 churches or chapels being mentioned in that valuable record.

Blomefield, the learned and laborious historian of Norwich, has recorded some interesting facts connected with the erection of the city walls and gates. He states, from authentic records, that King Henry III. licensed the citizens to enclose Norwich with a fosse; and that Edward I. allowed them to build a wall round the city. The walls were accordingly begun in 1294, and a *murage*, or tax, for that purpose, was levied upon the inhabitants, by regal authority, to enable the civic officers to proceed with their construction. This tax expired in 1297, when a patent was passed authorizing another *murage*; and similar imposts were levied from time to time till 1319 or 1320, by means of which the walls were then finished.

An inspection of a Plan of Norwich will shew the course of the city walls, and the position of the different gate-houses. The latter were twelve in number, each of which was large, and of imposing appearance.

Blomefield states that "in 1342 the gates and towers of the city were fortified and made fit to dwell in,—they having been built, but not fitted up, ever since the walls were finished,—by Richard Spynk, citizen of Norwich, who for the profit and defence of the city and adjacent country, and for the honour of the king, gave 30 *espringolds*, or warlike instruments to cast great stones with, to be always kept at the different gates of the city; and to every *espringold* 100 *gogions*, or balls, locked



up in a box, with ropes and other accoutrements belonging to them; and also four great *arblasters*, or cross bows, and to each of them 100 *gogions*, or balls, and two pair of *graples*, to draw up the bows with; and other *gogions* and armour. He also built Bishop's Gate, upon the bridge; 40 rods of wall and towers, between St. Austin's and Magdalen Gates; also other very extensive works to most of the gates and towers. Amongst his expenditure are particularly mentioned, the sums of £200. 5s. 0d. to enlarge and deepen the ditches belonging to the city walls, and £100 more about the bars, chains, and gate at Bishop's Bridge, and in building a stone wall at Roscolines Stath. At the southern extremity of the city, where the walls joined the river Wensum, a round tower had been previously erected. Richard Spynk added, on the opposite side of the river, a similar tower, and made two great chains to go cross from tower to tower, so that no vessel could enter the city by the river without leave; and he fixed an instrument to the tower on the west side of the river to wind the chains upon." And we are told that when he had done all this, our truly patriotic citizen next "offered another hundred pounds if any would raise as much more to finish all the towers in the same manner as those he had done: and when no man in the city would undertake to do it in that manner, the said Richard undertook it, and performed it, by *God's grace!*"

These facts are proved by indentures entered into between the civic authorities and Richard Spynk on the 10th of December in the 17th of Edward the Third, (1343,) wherein the former engaged "to pay him their part, and also that neither he nor his heirs male for ever should be obliged to bear any office or serve on any juries in the city without their own consent; and that he and they should be for ever quit and free from all tallages, taxes, &c., in the city, as also customs, murage, and pavage; and the city agreed to find constant guards to guard the walls in the gates and towers, and look after and keep in order the *espringolds* and other instruments which he gave them; and if such guards neglected their duty, on complaint made by him or his heirs, the city was to turn them out, and place others in their stead."

Other curious notices of the walls and gates of Norwich occur in *Blomefield's History*. In 1377 it appears that disputes had arisen as to who should be chargeable with the tax for repairing the gates, walls, and towers, which the bailiffs

and commons had power to levy as often as occasion required ; whereupon a survey was taken and a return made of the "*number* of the battlements in the towers, gates, and walls of the city ;" which serves to shew the state of the fortifications at that time. A few lines will serve as a specimen :— "Be it remembered, that the number of battlements in the towers, gates, and walls of the city of Norwich, are as follow ; From the river to Coslany, or St. Martin at the Oak Gate are 112 battlements, and 10 upon the gate ; and from thence in the walls and towers to St. Austin's Gate are 69 battlements, and upon that gate 12 ; from thence to Fibrigge, or Magdalen Gate, in the walls and towers are 153, and upon that gate 13 ;" and so on. Blomefield assumes that this return was made "in order to appropriate the particular parts of these walls, gates, and towers, to the several parishes, to maintain and repair them." That it was the practice afterwards to do so, is shewn by the assessment made in 1481 for repairing the walls ; by which it appears that the parish of "South Conisford repaired the tower in the meadow, the tower by the river side over against it, and all the walls, and Conisford gate, and the next tower, to the midspace of the walls towards the Black tower. North Conisford repaired the walls thence to the Black tower, and that tower, and all to the corner of Ber-street gates. Ber-street repaired from that corner, Ber-street gates, and the walls and towers to the iron door, now called Brazen-doors. St. Stephen's repaired the iron door, and all the towers and walls to Nedham, now St. Stephen's gates, and those gates." In like manner the remainder of the wall and gates were apportioned between the other parishes.

In 1786, more than sixty years ago, that industrious and enthusiastic antiquary, John Carter, visited Norwich, and found eleven out of the twelve city gate-houses standing. Heigham Gate, he states beneath one of his sketches, had been then destroyed "some years : " having been taken down when Blomefield wrote, in 1741. Of the remaining eleven he made a series of slight but effective sketches, looking from without the gates into the city. He states that these sketches were made on a Sunday when all the gates were closed. These drawings together with all the other sketches that he made, from 1768 to 1806, are now in my possession, and form a collection of authentic representations, including many objects



of which no other views exist. They extend through 37 folio volumes. Mr. Stevenson of Norwich possesses drawings made with a *camera obscura* of the same eleven gates.

Commencing an enumeration of the gate-houses of Norwich with those at the southern extremity of the city; there was, first, the Boom, already mentioned, which, as it controlled the entrance of vessels up the river, may be regarded as one of the city gates. (See woodcut at the commencement of this Essay.)

The first gate in the walls, immediately to the westward of the Boom, was called CONISFORD GATE, or the *South gate*.

Next to this were BER-STREET GATES, which according to Blomefield were formerly "the most frequented gates of the whole city; the great passage to the castle entering there." (See the engraving.)

BRAZEN DOOR, the next in order of position, proceeding along the walls in a north-westerly direction, "was originally a tower with a postern of brass, from which it takes its name. It was afterwards probably of iron; for it is often called *the iron door*. After that it was made a passage for horsemen, and then was called the *Newgate*; from which the neighbouring streets take their names; and after that was called the *Swine-market gate*." (Blomefield.)

ST. STEPHEN'S GATE, formerly called *Nedham gate*, or locally *Nedham Yates*, was next in order. It is shewn in one of the accompanying illustrations.

ST. GILES'S GATE, which stood next, was the most western entrance to the city.

ST. BENNET'S, or ST. BENEDICT'S GATE, was formerly called *Westwyke gate*: according to Blomefield because it stood on the western *wic*, or *winding* of the river.

Next to St. Benedict's gate were HEIGHAM GATES, which Blomefield says "were called *Helle gates*, from their low situation, and the odd appearance that the street leading to them hath to any one that looks down from Charyng cross, it being a prodigious chasm and declivity, like the entrance of the ancient poets' hell. 'This was a postern only lately.'"

At this point the continuity of the walls was broken by the river entering the city. Resuming the line again beyond the river, we come to ST. MARTIN'S GATE, (OR ST. MARTIN'S AT THE OAK GATE,) formerly called *Coslany gate*.

Eastward of St. Martin's was ST. AUGUSTINE'S GATE.

ON ANCIENT GATE-HOUSES.

BER-STREET GATE, NORWICH

ST STEPHEN'S GATE, NORWICH



Further on was MAGDALEN GATE, "the old names of *Fybridge* [Fybrigge] *gates*, and the *Leper's gates*, being," as Blomefield says, "totally disused."

The next in the series, and last in the city walls, was called POCKTHORPE GATE, formerly *Barr gate*.

The east side of the city being sufficiently protected by the river, the walls terminated here. At an angle of the river, a little to the south-east of Pockthorpe gate, was a remarkable tower called the *Dungeon*; and afterwards *Hasset's*, or the *Cow tower*.

Further to the south is a bridge over the river, called *Bishop's bridge*, from having belonged to, and being connected with the episcopal palace, as early as 1249. In 1275 the prior had licence to erect a *gate-house* on it, which completed the series of *twelve gates*. This structure is shewn in the engraving at the end of the present article.

The rooms over St. Stephen's gate, and Bishop's gate, were formerly occupied by *hermits*; and outside of five of the gates (St. Stephen's, St. Giles's, St. Bennet's, St. Austin's, and Magdalen) were lazar houses, for the reception of those afflicted with leprosy; a disease which was very prevalent in Norwich in the middle ages<sup>c</sup>.

In 1379 St. Stephen's gate, with all the houses and conveniences thereto belonging, were leased to John de Taseburgh for life, paying to the bailiffs and commonalty one lance and target handsomely adorned, yearly. In Henry the Seventh's time the tolls of the same gate were let at 22s. 8d.

Some of the bastion-towers in the walls between the gate-houses appear to have been worthy of observation. The Rev. Richard Hart, B.A., in a Lecture on "The Antiquities of Norfolk, delivered at the Norfolk and Norwich Museum," (8vo. 1844,) describes the *Devil's tower*, to the east of the river, near Carrow bridge, as the most picturesque; and he mentions some others as interesting<sup>d</sup>.

The walls themselves (of flint, stone, and rubble) "were provided with arched recesses on the ground story, each recess having a loop-hole as large as a Norman window on the city side, and gradually narrowing outwards. Above these recesses

<sup>c</sup> The position of these lazar houses was in strict accordance with the Scriptural practice. See Leviticus xii. 46, and Numbers v. 2—4.

<sup>d</sup> In a letter which the same gentleman

has lately favoured me with, (Dec. 1848,) he refers to "a very interesting bastion near where the Coslany gate used to stand. It is groined with brick and the lower story is very nearly perfect."

was a pathway, ascended by flights of steps, above which on the outer side the wall was carried to the height of about seven or eight feet. The pathway was about a yard in width. This upper story of the wall was also furnished with loop-holes having the appearance of an open cross\*." Of the eleven gates which remained in 1786, when Carter made his sketches, eight were pulled down in the year 1792, in order to accommodate the traffic of the city, and in 1808 the remaining gates,—Coslany, Magdalen, and Ber-street,—were in like manner destroyed. Several vestiges of them are however still to be seen, particularly a considerable portion of St. Martin's gate-house, which is converted into a shop.

Besides the *military gate-houses* belonging to the walls of the city of Norwich, already enumerated, the castle and the cathedral precincts were both originally enclosed within separate walls, which were provided with gates of entrance. Those of the *castle* are all destroyed, and the castle itself sadly deformed and injured by tasteless additions and alterations. *Three gate-houses* remain as entrances to the Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace, and other ecclesiastical buildings in the Close. The walls of the Close were necessary for the protection of the monks, between whom and the citizens many dissensions and conflicts took place; on which occasions slaughter, and destruction of houses and other property, were frequent occurrences.

The Cathedral Close is approached from an open space called *Tombland*, on the west, by two gate-houses of elaborate design and execution, called the ERPINGHAM, and ST. ETHELBERT'S GATE. There is a third on the north called the BISHOP'S PALACE GATE.

*Erpingham gate-house.* This, which is the most northern of the two western entrances to the Cathedral Close, was erected at the cost of Sir Thomas Erpingham, at the close of the fourteenth century. "Among the great variety of subjects and designs in the ecclesiastical architecture of England, the present gate-house may be regarded as original and unique; and considering the state of society when it was raised and the situation chosen, we are surprised at the richness and decoration of the exterior face, and also at its perfect and unmutilated state after a lapse of four centuries. The archi-

\*. Lecture by the Rev. R. Hart, above referred to.

volt mouldings, spandrels, and two demi-octangular buttresses are covered with a profusion of ornamental sculpture; among which are 38 small statues of men and women, various shields of arms, trees, birds, pedestals and canopies: most of which are very perfect, and some of the figures are executed with much simple beauty. The shields are charged with the arms of Erpingham, Walton, and Clopton, the second and third being the names of Sir Thomas Erpingham's two wives; shields containing emblems of the Crucifixion, 'Trinity, &c., are amongst the ornaments. Each of the angular octagonal buttresses is crowned with a statue, one of which is said to represent a secular and the other a regular priest; whilst in the centre, above the great arch, is a rich canopied niche with a kneeling statue, said to represent the knightly founder<sup>1</sup>."

The origin and history of this once splendid edifice tend to illustrate the temper and state of the times when it was erected. Sir Thomas was an advocate for "Church reform," and by espousing and disseminating the principles of Wiclif, offended and incurred the hostility of the bishop and the monks. He was committed to prison, and as a penance and to obtain pardon was sentenced to raise this gate-house. The king, Henry IV., interfered and produced a reconciliation between the prelate and the knight<sup>2</sup>.

*St. Ethelbert's gate-house.* "This building appears to have been erected by the citizens as an atonement for injury done to the Cathedral and its gates in the great insurrection of 1272. A rector officiated here for some time after it was raised; who withdrawing himself to St. Mary's, a priest supplied his place, and subsisted on the voluntary offerings of strangers. These not being sufficient to support him the chapel was let to the cellarer, who accounted in 1519 for the profits of the house or chapel over the 'great gates.' The upper part of the west front shews the original tracery of stone let into flints. Beneath is a series of blank niches, with a statue in the centre, and four small aperture windows now closed up, which served as loop-holes for arrows, &c., to repel any attacks from the outside. The acute pediments and crockets are truly of the style and age of Edward I. In the spandrels of the great arch are figures in basso-relievo, of a man with a sword and a round shield attacking a dragon. The eastern face of this building consists

<sup>1</sup> Britton's History and Antiquities of Norwich Cathedral, p. 40.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

of stone and flint, with a large archway at bottom, and a pointed arched window, with stone tracery let into flint-work above <sup>h</sup>."

*The Bishop's Palace gate-house*, or entrance from St. Martin's to the Close, was raised by *Bishop Alnwick* about the year 1430: when he also built either the whole, or the greater part of the west front of the Cathedral. As originally executed, this gate-house must have been a fine specimen of architecture; but it has suffered materially by neglect and by injudicious repairs. The large arch, with its spandrels filled with tracery and blank shields, and the doors, are good specimens of design. The latter are said to have been put up by Bishop Lyhart, or Le Hart, who succeeded Alnwick. The spandrels of the principal arch are ornamented with rich tracery mouldings, enclosing blank shields, which were intended to bear the builder's arms, as the device, or *rebus*, of Lyhart (a hart or deer couchant) is carved on several shields in the small door. Over the arches is a very elaborate frieze of panelled compartments, enclosing shields, and charged with the letter M. crowned. Above this is a canopied niche, containing a seated statue crowned, implying a monarch. The angles of the building have squared flat buttresses, composed of stone quoins and flints. One of these buttresses is finished with a seated figure as a pinnacle; the parapet appears to have been formerly enriched with tracery and embrasures. The room over the archway has a fire-place.

There is a detached *gate-house* in ruins within the gardens of the Palace. It is known as *Bishop Salmon's gateway*; and is an interesting specimen of the architecture of Edward the Second's reign.

If the preceding essay should seem too prolix, the fault must be in the *author*, and not ascribed to the *subject*; for all the *smaller*, as well as the *greater* objects of antiquity, cannot fail to interest the fancy, as well as the judgment, of well-informed and laudably curious minds.

The buildings of remote times and of different countries are the most valuable relics and memorials of man in his civil his-

<sup>h</sup> For further accounts of this building, the reader may refer to the "Cathedral Antiquities of Norwich," and to the "Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities," in

which works there are elaborate and well engraved prints of the Erpingham and St. Ethelbert's gate-houses.

tory, and therefore are entitled to the diligent study of the antiquary, the architect, and the critic. In their varied application to warlike, religious, and domestic purposes, they are not merely objects to amuse the eye of the artist, and the fancy of the poet, but to inform and delight the professional architect and man of science: and every ancient building, whether church, castle, or mansion, contains something, in its design or construction, calculated to impart new truths and facts, to increase the general stock of knowledge, and thus to render mankind wiser and better.



J. Carter, del. 1796.

J. Walmsley, sc.

BISHOP'S GATE AND BRIDGE, NORWICH.



## ON CERTAIN GUILDS FORMERLY EXISTING IN THE TOWN OF LITTLE WALSINGHAM.

BY MR. JOSEPH BURTT.

OUR excursion to the town and priory of Walsingham may possibly impart some degree of interest to the following observations on the ecclesiastical guilds which anciently existed in Little Walsingham. Guilds, clubs, or associations of persons formed for mutual protection and benefit, had their origin in a comparatively remote antiquity; they are mentioned in cartularies of the eighth century, and in the Lombardic laws of Charlemagne. They were of various kinds, and as regards England may be classed thus: frith guilds, for the maintenance of peace and security, merchant guilds, trades' guilds, and ecclesiastical guilds<sup>a</sup>.

The frith guilds of our Saxon ancestors were replaced after the Conquest by the system of frank-pledge; merchant guilds were the origin of our municipal societies, the grant or acknowledgment of a guild-merchant occurring in most early charters of incorporation; and trades' guilds are now represented by our civic companies.

Ecclesiastical guilds, to which attention is now called, had their rise, in this country, towards the close of the fourteenth century. They were established for devotional and charitable purposes: but although these were their main objects, social festivity was recognised as an important element in their constitution; and the few existing statutes of the earlier guilds shew that the brethren had attained to so high a pitch of indulgence in such festivities, that the imposition of heavy fines was necessary to check excesses which had become, and were likely to continue, characteristic of these fraternities<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> I need scarcely observe, that from perhaps the earliest period guilds of every description were subject to a certain amount of ecclesiastical influence; in referring above to purely ecclesiastical guilds, I mean such as were instituted solely for the celebration of particular festivals of the Church, and for charitable objects.

<sup>b</sup> To the timid and unthrifty government of Richard II., who feared that these institutions might be diverted to political purposes, and be dangerous as nurseries of sedition, we are indebted for returns made into Chancery in the twelfth year of his reign, of the original objects, endowment, and extent of guilds generally. Though

During the fifteenth century these institutions increased greatly in number. It was then that the establishment of "chantries" for the purpose of performing services for the souls of the founders and their families, was very frequent; and when such foundations were favoured by those high in station, and the doctrines then popularly taught recognised the efficacy of such works and services, it is not surprising that institutions like guilds should have flourished; when, by joining them, the simple townsman, rich or poor, could take a prominent part in those ceremonies from which he would otherwise have been nearly excluded, and his mind be solaced with the reflection, that, as one of such a brotherhood, *he* might join in roofing a chapel, or presenting an altar-piece to a church; and that at his death, at least thirty masses would be said for his soul.

The characteristics of these devotional institutions in the fifteenth century, were: associations of men, or men and women, presided over by an alderman, officers whose duties appear to have been those of stewards, called "Skovyns," "Schevyns," or "Scabini<sup>c</sup>," a dean, and one or more "chaplains." Their professed objects were, to assist each other in trade, to administer to the wants of poor and afflicted members, and to perform services for the living, and for the souls of those deceased. Among their ordinances were strict regulations for enforcing moral, upright, and courteous conduct.

It is probable that in many guilds there were other objects which, if—as practised at their first introduction—not directly

the collection is obviously very imperfect, a great number of these returns still remain; and they shew in a remarkable manner how extensively the advantages presented by these societies were made use of by the classes for whose comfort and benefit they were established. A few extracts from these returns will not be found uninteresting.

An instance of a guild whose establishment is said to have been anterior to the Conquest, exists in the case of the fraternity of clerks at Glemsford, Suffolk, which was established "by faithful Christians in the time of King Canute, in honor of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. Peter, and all the Apostles and Saints who had pleased God from the beginning of the world to the end of time."

In the guild of tilers of Lincoln, "if any member wished to go to the Holy

Land, Rome, or Saint James, the members shall accompany him to Queencross," and there he is to receive contributions from the master and brethren to aid him in his journey.

The members of the guild of St. John, Spalding, were to have special devotion to the beautiful image painted to the honour of St. John; and to watch over and repair the missal and altar ornaments.

In the procession of the guild of St. Mary, Stamford, five torches were carried in honour of the five joys of the Virgin Mary.

Many guilds were established by monks and others calling the people together to consult how best they could advance and support the worship of a particular saint or divine service generally.

\* Corruptions of "Eschevyns," bailiffs.

opposed to good morals, might, in course of time, have had a very unfavourable effect. Such was the guild of St. Martin at Stamford, where "having a bull" on St. Martin's day, and "a drinking," divided the attention of the members with "prayers for the dead<sup>d</sup>," and probably eventually engaged the better part of that attention.

The influence of these institutions upon the then existing society must have been great; but, from its very nature, *temporary*<sup>e</sup>. Few guilds possessed land or property, and what they did hold was so small compared with the immense forfeitures of ecclesiastical endowments which occurred at the period of their dissolution, that traces of it are rare, or when occurring, very meagre. They had few buildings, one hall serving for three or four, or even more, of such communities; and if they provided necessary accommodation for their devotions in a church, their works were small indeed among the numerous pious foundations of the time; to these circumstances the scantiness of our information respecting them is owing.

Of the guilds of Lynn there are full particulars both as to their objects and regulations<sup>f</sup>, and highly curious inventories of their goods and possessions, but very little of their actual proceedings and accounts; and a knowledge of the manner in which rules are carried out, is required to render complete the evidence they afford.

All that appears to have been hitherto known concerning the guilds at Little Walsingham, is the notice in Blomefield. "Here was St. Catharine's altar and guild, with those of the Purification, the Annunciation, St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, St. Anne, St. George, and the Holy Trinity."

There has however been lately discovered among the public records in the Chapter-house, Westminster, a book containing much curious and minute information respecting several of these guilds. It is endorsed "*Liber Gilde Beate Marie*," and contains an account of the alderman of the guild of the

<sup>d</sup> Peck's Antiquarian Annals, book xii. p. 19.

<sup>e</sup> It has been seen how they were considered to be composed of materials possessing the power of agitating the minds of the people upon matters of political interest; it would therefore be only fair to assign to the working of these commu-

nities, which could not have forgotten the principles of their foundation, very considerable effect upon the unsettled and discordant feelings upon religious subjects which existed so generally at the period of the Dissolution, and anterior to it.

<sup>f</sup> Richards' Hist. of Lynn, vol. i. p. 425, *passim*.

Annunciation from the eighth to the thirty-seventh year of Henry VIII. (1516 to 1545), a period of thirty-one years. The title however is correct only as regards the first (but the greater) part of the book; for in the thirty-second year of Henry VIII. this guild was united with those of St. Anne and St. George, so that the latter portion of the book contains the account of the three united guilds. It is a "quire" of paper containing seventy pages, enclosed in a coarse parchment cover, and is in very good condition, except that a portion of one of the last leaves, containing a list of the members, is torn off.

The first portion of the book was intended to have been written in Latin, but, as was then not uncommon, on any difficulty arising, the writer used the French and English languages, or such words in them as he required, indiscriminately; sometimes all three languages are jumbled together, as in the sentence, "*pro novi factioni de le new peyr of orgeyns.*"

The constitution of this community, in examining which we are materially assisted by a nearly perfect list of its members in the year 1522, presents the following results. It was composed of "brethren and sisters;" the latter being generally the wives of brethren. Its affairs were conducted by an alderman, who accounted for the general funds of the society; four "skevyns," (though in the first year or two of this account, *three* only were elected,) whose care appears to have been the provision of refreshment at the meetings of the members, but unlike those of the guilds at Lynn and elsewhere, they had no management of the "stock" of the guild; a dean, of whose office no information is given; and a "priest," respecting whom, the payment of his stipend is all that appears.

As regards the "stock" of the guild, which may be considered its *capital*, and the index of its prosperity, nothing appears to shew how it was first raised; but during the period of this account, it consisted of the general balance in the hand of the alderman after the usual, or unusual, payments had been made; and members (brethren only) unrestricted in number except by the amount of that surplus, took portions of it, with the consent of their fellows; for this they gave personal pledges or written bonds, and, probably in return for its use in trade, paid an "increase" of 2*s.* upon every 20*s.* taken, equal to 10 per cent. per annum. In the year 1520 and subsequently, this increase is styled "benivolentia."

The absence of any annual payment for continuing in the guild is worthy of remark. It is probable that no other annual payments were made, except the small sums charged for the cheer provided at their meetings, and these sums would be accounted for by the "skevyns" or stewards. Owing to the difficulty in procuring those officers to perform their functions in several of the later years, these sums are then accounted for in this book, under the title of "le cadys mony." In two instances there are notices of "inquisitors," officers who may have been only specially appointed; the cases in which they occur are in the year 1532, when they require the production of the guild "stock" by a certain time, or security for it, and at the union of the guilds, when they chose the officers for the year.

There are no cases of fines upon any of the members, except upon persons who declined fulfilling the office of "skevyns;" but as in the ordinances of other guilds, fines, either of money or of kind, were imposed for enforcing courteous and temperate behaviour, and attendance at the meetings, however complimentary it might be to the guild-folk of Walsingham to suppose none were incurred by them, it is probable they were elsewhere accounted for.

The entrance fees of the new members varied very considerably, from 4*d.* in one case to 6*s.* 10*d.* in another; at the latter part of the account 12*d.* appears to have been the usual sum, at the first part 20*d.*; they were perhaps regulated by the known circumstances of the parties.

The list of the members composing this community in the year 1522 has been already referred to; though mutilated, it is sufficiently perfect to enable us to form a tolerably correct idea of their number, (and incidentally of the general population,) though it throws little light upon the condition or occupation of the members. Except that one brother is noted "the oldest," and four are described as of neighbouring places, the only distinction drawn is, that the first column is composed entirely of *priests*. Of these twenty-six names appear, and probably there were eighteen more, making forty-four out of a total of a hundred and sixty-eight "brethren and sisters." Throughout the book but *two* traders are mentioned, a mercer and a shoemaker; in one case, a newly-elected sister is designated "generosa," and three or four brethren are described as "gentlemen."

The fact that Little Walsingham was indebted for its chief support to the pilgrimages made to the famous shrine of "Our Lady," may account for the great number of religious, and the rare notices of traders in the guild.

With regard to processions, which formed a part of the ceremonies at the anniversaries of other guilds, the first payment directly bearing upon the subject is made in the year 1520, when 2*d.* is paid "to the banner bearer." Either a procession did not form a regular feature in the celebration of the anniversary of this institution, or in some years it was attended with more paraphernalia, no other entry relating thereto occurring for eleven years, when 2*d.* is paid "for the nails and the repair of the sceptre," and in the account of the last year of this guild as a separate community, the same sum is again paid "to the banner bearer." There is no payment relating to the subject in the account of the year of the union, or of the next year; but the entries of payments during this period seem somewhat confused, and from the nature and regularity of the entries in the following years, such forms were probably not omitted. In the second year after the union are the following payments, "for the mending of the dragon 4*d.*," "to y<sup>e</sup> berar of y<sup>e</sup> dragon at Corpus Christi mes and this Gild time, 4*d.*," proving that there were *two* processions in that year in which the insignia of the guild of St. George were prominent; in the next year, "for mendyng of y<sup>e</sup> dragon and for 1 yerde of clothe, 8*d.*," "to y<sup>e</sup> berar of y<sup>e</sup> dragon 4*d.*;" and these payments, varying slightly in amount, continue to the last year.

Payments of sums from 2*d.* to 5*d.* "pro le torchys holdyng" occur in almost every year; and at intervals of two or three years, and sometimes in consecutive years, are payments of from 3*s.* to 9*s.* "pro factioni novorum le torchys." Neither of these payments are made during the time of the poverty of the guild; and after the union of the three communities they do not appear to have indulged in the use of torches to so great an extent as at an earlier period of the account, in the three entries which occur, 12*d.*, 16*d.*, and 10*d.* being the respective sums paid for the wax required, and for the making. In the year 1527, when the torch holders were paid 5*d.*, (a larger payment than usual,) is this entry, "Nota—Item stoppyd for y<sup>e</sup> torches burnyng att y<sup>e</sup> buryall of my Lady Bramston."



The payments for assistance afforded to poor members are so few and so small as to make it certain that some other mode of aid was resorted to besides the direct payments here entered.

Payments to minstrels occur almost regularly, the sums varying from 9*d.* to 7*s.*, generally about 2*s.*

With respect to the hall of the guild; a payment of 2*s.* for "the hall hyer" occurs regularly to the year 1527, from which time there is no mention of it till the memorandum in 1535 that such payment was excused on account of poverty; it was paid in the following year, but not afterwards. At the union of the guilds in 1540, the following entry shews that a hall was built by the united communities, "Delivered to Robert Angos and Robert Gottes towarde y<sup>e</sup> Gylde hall byldyng, 31*s.* 4*d.*" They could not, however, have proceeded very rapidly with the work, as in the year 1544 we find 20*s.* "delivered to John Jonson *towarde y<sup>e</sup> byldyng of y<sup>e</sup> walles of the Gilde halle;*" it was probably completed in that year, as in the last year of the account 16*d.* is paid "towarde y<sup>e</sup> reparacions of y<sup>e</sup> Gilde halle." Some further information is given respecting the fate of this building, by a lease made Oct. 31, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, two years previous to the official dissolution of the guild, by Thomas Bradde to Thomas Salman, of his tenement called the Guild Hall in Little Walsingham "*nowe brente,*" for seven years, with a covenant that he shall "edify and build up the tenement called the Guylde Hall which lately was brente, by the length and brede of the old walls there sett."

Having considered the more prominent characteristics of this institution, a short review of the whole account will not be found uninteresting.

The anniversary of the guild was the Sunday after Holy Thursday, (ranging from May 4 to June 6.)

The receipts accounted for in the first year amount to £12. 14*s.* 8*d.*, and are composed of

"Increase" of the stock of the guild.

Portions of such stock resigned.

Entrance fees.

Sums from accidental sources.

The payments are				£.	s.	d.
To the priest for his stipend	.	.	.		33	4
For assurance	.	.	.		4	

	£	s.	d.
For the hall hyer . . . . .		2	
To the king for the subsidy . . . . .		6	8
For leading the new chapel to the parish church . . . . .	6	0	0
To the clerk of the abbey . . . . .			4
To the parish clerk and bellman . . . . .			4
For oblations for the dead . . . . .			4
For a new book . . . . .			4
For writing the account . . . . .			6
For the strowing [rushes in the hall] . . . . .			2

Several of these payments (which were regularly made) evidence the religious nature of the community, while that for "leading the chapel" not only confirms it, but also shews the social importance of the institution. The chapel is "new," was it built by the guild? It would be interesting to discover the precise relation in which the community stood as regards this chapel, which was attached to the church, in which, as will be subsequently shewn, they placed their altar.

After the payments, are entered the "re-deliveries" of the stock of the guild to brethren; then follow the officers elected, and the "new entries," and the year's account is closed with the list of "portatores catallorum," or holders of the stock; in this year the sum is £37. 2s. 5d., held by twenty-five brethren, in sums from 10s. to £4.

Any special business appears to have been transacted at this anniversary, and there exist several "memoranda" relating to what may perhaps be called the private operations of the community, as in 1517 there is one to the effect that no meat shall be served out of the hall, unless a proper excuse is given for the member not coming there.

The next entry which claims especial notice is a payment made in the year 1519 of £3 "to John Mathu graver, in part payment *for making an altar table of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of Walsingham aforesaid;*" in the next year 20s. more were paid for the same, and in 1533 another 20s., in all £5. From the sum of money in hand in the year following the second payment, and a peculiar entry in that year, (afterwards noted,) it is evident that the delay in the payment for this work was not owing to the poverty of the employers. Whether the time occupied in its completion (*five years*) affords any criterion for forming an opinion as to the magnitude of this work, is another matter.

The entry alluded to as made in the year 1521, is a delivery



of £6. 5s. 6d. "to William Keswick and four other brethren to purchase *whatever they please* for the profit of the said Guild." It is exceedingly disappointing to find no statement of the way in which such sum was expended; or rather, in what *a portion only* of it was spent, for in the next year the same William returns 5s. 6d. to the general fund. The guild must indeed have had every comfort in the opinion of its agents when they did not know how to employ this balance for its interest; their character too, considering the instructions which appear to have been given them, must have stood high in the opinion of their fellows.

In 1523 is a note to the effect that a certain bond for £6 (guild stock in the hand of a brother) is appropriated, in the compound language noticed as used in the book, "*pro novi factioni de le new peyr of orgeyns*," and in the following year a further sum of 33s. 4d. is paid for the same.

These payments for extraordinary purposes were made out of such portions of the "stock" of the guild as were surrendered by members; and such surrenders being entered among the ordinary receipts, shew that no very strict regard was paid to the conservation of the capital of the guild; and if one of its objects was that of assisting its members by loans, its usefulness was being gradually undermined, and its very vitality endangered by the outlay of these sums which should have been carefully husbanded.

In 1525 there is a payment of 6s. 2d. "*pro le sute de scripto obligatorio*," i. e. putting in suit a bond against some refractory chattel-holder, and a note is added that all chattel-holders shall bring in what they hold by Michaelmas next.

In 1526, four marks were paid "*factioni novi le perke pro organis*."

In the year 1527 there are several memoranda as to promises by members to repay "stock;" these, with the numerous surrenders of such stock about this period, evidence the decline of the guild.

In the year 1532 there is an entry among the receipts highly suggestive. "And for 40s. stock out of the hands of Stephen Browne for Robert Browne his father, and it was given to him *for his expences about the profit of the town of Walsingham*, and it was agreed to by the brethren;" it is, however, again left to the imagination to picture how this sum was applied, and the benefit it produced.

There appears no account for the year 1534: the pecuniary affairs of the community were in a very unsatisfactory state, the stipend of the priest had been irregularly paid for the last year or two; and in 1533 the whole profit on the "stock" of the guild had fallen to very nearly one-third of the amount stated in the first year of this account. In 1535 the funds had sunk to a low ebb indeed, the priest receiving only 18s. as part of his stipend," 2s. is paid "for assurance," and it is added "the remainder was forgiven on account of poverty:" the payments to the minstrels, to the clerk and bellman, and to the clerk of the abbey, were however still maintained, and the account concludes by noting that "the Gilde hall hyer was forgiven to the brethren on account of their poverty." No "skovyns" were elected this year, two members only appearing willing to undertake the duty, and the first promised to support the guild "*de propriis*," on the "stock" being transferred to him. In this year Richard Vowell, prior of St. Mary, Walsingham, was elected alderman.

The period of the decay of this community is that when the monastic institutions of the country were on the eve of suppression: and perhaps it is not an improbable conclusion, founded on the preceding statement of their accounts, that the guilds of Walsingham would have naturally expired like similar institutions in other parts of the county, about that time, even though government had not thought proper to confiscate their few remaining effects.

In the year following, the affairs of the guild slightly rallied, ten new members entered, (seven were "chaplains,") and the usual annual payments were resumed; the sums received under the name of "cadys mony" are here noted as transferred to the member who had agreed to "inne (or house) the Gild."

In the year 1538 the priest's stipend (then reduced to 20s.) was a year in arrear, and the poverty of the community is again apparent. The balance in the alderman's hand is delivered to a "skevyn" (these officers had been irregularly elected since 1534) for the use of the guild, on condition of his supporting the same "*de propriis*," and allowing the "cadys money" to accrue to the profit of the guild. Notwithstanding this unfavourable state of the accounts, 40s. of surrendered stock are, in the next year, laid out "*in part payment for the great bell of the late Friars Minors;*" this was

the house of Grey Friars founded by Elizabeth de Burgh, countess of Clare, in 21 Edw. III.

We have now arrived at the union of the guild of the Annunciation with those of "Saint Anne" and "Saint George," which occurred on the 8th of June, 1540. Among the "inquisitors" then chosen, are aldermen of the guilds of "Trinity," "Seynt Myhell," and "Saint John," shewing that the inhabitants of Walsingham enjoyed the advantages of more guilds than one; and this is confirmed by the list of chattel-bearers, some of whom are members of all three. These lists of chattel-bearers are guides to the respective positions of the three guilds. In St. Anne's twenty-one members held £16. 0s. 5d. stock. In St. George's fourteen held £11. 11s. 6d., while in the guild of the Blessed Mary, were thirteen members holding £13. 16s. 9d. The receipts of each guild are made up separately, they accrued only "from the benevolences of chattel-bearers," and fines upon the persons elected as skevyns "for not innung the said Gild;" the payments are only two, to the priest, who had no reason to complain of the union, and for the preparation of bonds.

The sums paid by the members as "cadys money" now form a regular portion of the receipts; there is, in the year following the union of the guilds, a bill attached as a rider to the account, shewing how that money was laid out<sup>s</sup>. It is very full and minute, and some of the items are curious, the total expense was £3. 18s. 4½d. In this year the payment to the priest is 13s. 4d. "towards his wages," the same in the next year, and the *sum* is continued in following years, but the concluding words above remarked are omitted. In this year (1541) is also a payment of 6s. 8d. to John Colett, clerk, "for his wages of olde owyng, and soo to be clere at this rekening," the entries relating to "the dragon" and its repair have been already noted.

In 1544 there is another bill of the guild dinner amounting to £3. 3s. 7d.<sup>h</sup>

In the last year of the account many of these items appear among the ordinary annual expenses. The last account is entered in the usual manner, but against the names of those holding the property of the guilds are memoranda of the officials employed in the dissolution of those institutions, "solvendum ad usum Domini Regis," "Onerandum in compoto

<sup>s</sup> Appendix, No. 1, is a copy of this bill.

<sup>h</sup> Appendix, No. 2

hujus anni, tercio et quarto Regis et Regine," shewing the date of the dissolution, though it had been virtually extinct for many years. To some are notes "desperatur, ideo exoneratur," "despaired of, therefore discharged." The book concludes with the following short inventory of money, &c., received.

Remayning in the hands of Thomas Salman as he confessyth ij guylde-spyttes<sup>1</sup>.

Item in thands of George Gysburghe £6. 13s. 4d.

Item in thands of Rychard Collard 100s.

Item in thands of Rychard Chapman —

Item in thands of thexecutors of N. Browne received of Rychard Chapmans 8s.

Item in thands of Edmund Burdon and John Boottevall now Churchwardyns as for money received of Goodman Johnson 50s. as for the rent of the Church . . . . (?) and for the gathering of the paryshe at Chrystmas anno Domini 1556—6s., and for the gatheryng of the paryshe at Ester 6s. 9½d—62s. 9½d.

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#### APPENDIX, No. 1.

Exspences of the gyld of our blessyd Lady Seint George & Saint Anne leyt owt by Nicholas Marshall Nicholas Bradd Edmond Walpole & Will'm Chapman the xxix day of May in the xxxij yere of oure Sov'eign Lorde Kyng Henry the viij<sup>th</sup>.

In primis for one quarter of whete . . . . .	7s.
Itm for the bakynge of the same whete to Richard Lyon & Richard Maltby . . . . .	16d.
Itm for v combe malte price y <sup>e</sup> quarter iiij s. 8d. sui . . .	11s. 8d.
Itm for the grynnyng of the same . . . . .	2½d.
Itm for bruyng of the same malte . . . . .	20d.
Itm for salt . . . . .	1½d.
Itm for 6 dosen trenchers y <sup>t</sup> shall remayn to the gyld'	6d.
Itm for 4 stone of beyf price y <sup>e</sup> stone 10d. sui . . . . .	3s. 4d.
Itm for 19 grene gese . . . . .	6s. 4d.
Itm a calfe with the purtenannce w <sup>t</sup> out the skynne bought by Will'm Chapman . . . . .	3s. 4d.

<sup>1</sup> At the end of the list of members is this description and account of these articles:—

"M<sup>d</sup> a spete marked w<sup>t</sup> a crosse by y<sup>e</sup> cranke given by Elen Clyfton to this gilde

in the xxij yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the viij<sup>e</sup>. remaynyng (sic.)

"A<sup>o</sup>. n' H. viij xxvij<sup>e</sup> nowe the seid spete w<sup>t</sup> ij other gilde spet' remayneth in the custody of Nicholas Calve."

It' bought by y <sup>e</sup> same Chapman another calfe by parcell	2s. 2d.
Itm another calfe bought by Nicholas Marshall w <sup>t</sup> out the skynne . . . . .	2s. 3d.
It' a calfe bought by Nic' Bradde w <sup>t</sup> out skynne & gynne . . . . .	3s
Itm for halfe a shepe bought by Chapman . . . . .	14d.
Itm for halfe a shepe bought by Nic' Bradde . . . . .	16d.
Itm for a brest of mutton bought by same Bradde & a breste of vele price y <sup>e</sup> mutton 5d. & the vele 3d. sui	8d.
Itm bought by Nic' Bradde 5 lammes price the lamme 20d. sui . . . . .	8s. 4d.
Itm 4 pygges by Chapman price y <sup>e</sup> pygg 7½d. sui . . . . .	2s. 6d.
Itm 2 pygges by Ed' Walpole price y <sup>e</sup> pyg 6d. . . . .	12d.
It' for 7 rabettes by y <sup>e</sup> same Ed' Walpole . . . . .	6d.
Itm for egges bought by Chapman . . . . .	11d.
Itm for butter by y <sup>e</sup> same Chapman . . . . .	8d.
Itm for egges bought by Nic' Bradde . . . . .	5d.
It' for butter by y <sup>e</sup> same Bradde . . . . .	4d.
Itm for creme & mylke by y <sup>e</sup> same Bradde . . . . .	9d.
Itm for 6 unces pepper by Nic' Bradde . . . . .	9d.
It' a unce of cloys & mase by y <sup>e</sup> same Bradde . . . . .	5d.
It' y <sup>e</sup> same for halfe a pound coranns . . . . .	3d.
Itm for saffurne by y <sup>e</sup> same . . . . .	3d.
Itm for a pynte of Englyshe hony . . . . .	4d.
It' by y <sup>e</sup> same Nic' ij unces saunders . . . . .	6d.
It' y <sup>e</sup> same Nic' a quarter of dates . . . . .	1½d.
It' iij quart' of vyneger . . . . .	4½d.
It' a quartes of verjoys . . . . .	1½d.
It' for di' li' sugur . . . . .	5d.
It' for cloys & masez . . . . .	1d.
Itm by Will'm Chapman iij li' prunez . . . . .	6d.
It' by y <sup>e</sup> same iij li' gret reysons . . . . .	6d.
It' a quart of aynessedede . . . . .	2d.
It' a quart of pepper . . . . .	6d.
Itm iij pyntez & ij unces of hony . . . . .	10d.
It' for synamun . . . . .	1d.
It' for nayle by Chapman . . . . .	½d.
It' for nayle by Nic' Bradde . . . . .	2½d.
It' a quart woode by Nic' Bradde . . . . .	8d.
Itm for fures by y <sup>e</sup> same Bradde . . . . .	4d.
Itm for bredde to the brothe by Bradde . . . . .	4d.
Itm to Edward y <sup>e</sup> cooke for his wages 16d. & his cat'	
Itm Johane Duddell M'garet Smyth & Cristyan Swyllers for their wages . . . . .	16d.
It' ij turners of y <sup>e</sup> spet' 2 dais Bradde (sic) . . . . .	8d.
Itm for y <sup>e</sup> mynstrell wages . . . . .	20d.

It' for strowyng by Bradde (sic)	. . .	4d.
Itm for bakying of the pastyez by Bradde (sic)	. . .	4d.
It' di' bussell of whete flower of Wheteley a pek, & of Lyon a nother pek by Bradde	. . .	8d.
Itm for mylk by Bradde	. . .	1d.
Itm for creme by Nic' Marshall	. . .	2d.
It' for strowyng for y <sup>e</sup> churche	. . .	2d.
It' for beryng of the Dracon	. . .	7d.
		8m' £3. 18s. 4½d.

## APPENDIX, No. 2.

The expensis of the Gild' of the Anunciac'on of Or. Lady Seynt Anne & Seynt George leyd owght & p<sup>d</sup>. by Thom's Byrde and Will'm Hudson anno rr' H. viij. xxxvj<sup>o</sup>.

In primis for a quarter of whete	. . .	6s.
It' p <sup>d</sup> for y <sup>e</sup> grynyng y <sup>r</sup> of	. . .	4d.
It' p <sup>d</sup> for y <sup>e</sup> bakying y <sup>r</sup> of	. . .	8d.
It' p <sup>d</sup> for a pekke of hooll whete	. . .	4d.
It' p <sup>d</sup> for vj dossen ale	. . .	12s.
It' p <sup>d</sup> for iij stone & di' of beff	. . .	3s. 6d.
It' p <sup>d</sup> for iij calves	. . .	8s. 5d.
It' p <sup>d</sup> for v lambes	. . .	7s. 6d.
It' p <sup>d</sup> for v pygges	. . .	2s. 6d.
It' p <sup>d</sup> for a breste of mutton	. . .	4d.
It' p <sup>d</sup> for a copull of chykyngs	. . .	3½d.
It' p <sup>d</sup> for a quarter of vele	. . .	7d.
Itm for lyght brade	. . .	9d.
Itm for fyve pounce pruynges	. . .	12½d.
Itm for halffe an ounce of saffron	. . .	4d.
Itm for iij pounce of grett reysons	. . .	8d.
Itm for ij unce of sanders	. . .	5d.
Itm for iij unce of peper	. . .	7d.
Itm for an unce of clowse & mase	. . .	6d.
Itm for a quarte of hony Englishe	. . .	10d.
Itm for ij quartes of veneger	. . .	4d.
Itm for mylke	. . .	9d.
Itm for butter	. . .	6d.
Itm for woodde	. . .	22d.
Itm for whynnez	. . .	4d.
Itm for a pek of salte	. . .	4d.
Itm for nayllez	. . .	1½d.

Itm for y <sup>e</sup> cook' wagys	.	.	.	.	16d.
Itm to y <sup>e</sup> turnors <sup>k</sup>	.	.	.	.	3d.
Itm to y <sup>e</sup> swyllers <sup>l</sup>	.	.	.	.	8d.
Itm for strowyng of y <sup>e</sup> Cherche & y <sup>e</sup> gyld hall	.	.	.	.	3d.
Itm for calfez dressyng	.	.	.	.	3d.
Itm for mendyng of y <sup>e</sup> stolez & tristlez	.	.	.	.	3d.
Itm for xx geese y <sup>e</sup> fedyng & y <sup>e</sup> fattyng	.	.	.	.	5s. 8d.
It' for ij chykyns	.	.	.	.	3½d.
Sum					£3. 3s. 7d.

<sup>k</sup> Turn-spits,—“turners of y<sup>e</sup> spet’,”  
*supra*.

<sup>l</sup> “Sqwyllare, dysche wescheare, *lixa*.”  
Promptorium Parvulorum. “Joh. le Sque-  
ler” occurs in the Accounts of the Execu-

tors of Queen Eleanor, 1291; he does not  
seem however to have been a scullion, but  
a vendor of culinary vessels, *ecuelles, scu-  
tellæ*.—Household Expenses in England,  
p. 121.

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES  
OF THE  
CHURCHES AND OTHER BUILDINGS  
IN THE CITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD  
OF NORWICH,

AND IN SOME MORE DISTANT PARTS OF THE COUNTY, VISITED BY THE INSTITUTE,  
JULY, 1847.

BY I. H. PARKER.

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PROFESSOR WILLIS having undertaken to give an account of the cathedral and the buildings in the precincts, and Mr. Britton of the gateways of the Close, they are omitted in these Notes, which were merely intended to indicate to strangers the objects worthy of their attention.

Archæologists, not previously acquainted with East Anglia, may wish to have their attention called to those particular points which are most characteristic of this part of the country. The scarcity of stone gives at once a different character to the buildings from those of most other parts; the only building material of the country being flint, the walls are almost entirely constructed of it, and frequently faced with cut flints also, of which there are some very good examples in the city of Norwich. The dressings are usually of stone; and there are numerous and beautiful specimens of what is called "flint and stone panelling," in which the interstices of stone panelling are filled with cut flints, producing a very singular and striking effect. This kind of work is most common in the Perpendicular style, but there are good examples of it in Decorated work also, as in the gates of the Close at Norwich. The end of the fourteenth century, the period of transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular styles, seems to be that in which architecture was most flourishing in Norfolk; and there are many fine examples of this transition, particularly Worstead and Ingham. In the small plain churches the dressings are frequently of brick, and sometimes the mullions also, so that many churches are built entirely of flint and brick without any stone. Almost all the arches over



doors and windows in plain buildings, and those of the city walls, are of brick: in the earlier buildings these bricks approximate in shape to the Roman tiles; in later specimens, they are the common Flemish bricks. In poor churches, the towers are commonly built round and of flint entirely, to save the expense of quoins; these round towers are consequently of all periods, from the earliest known buildings to the present time. The fine screens and other wood-work form quite a leading characteristic of the Norfolk churches: many of these screens are enriched with beautiful paintings of Apostles and Saints on the lower panels. A series of very curious examples of these early works of art, admirably copied by Mrs. Gunn, were exhibited by the kindness of Mr. Dawson Turner, in the Museum, formed at Norwich during the Meeting of the Institute.

The roofs are generally open to the ridge, of high pitch, originally covered with thatch, and many still are so; they are not so rich as the Suffolk roofs, but there are many fine open timber roofs in Norfolk. St. Peter Mancroft in Norwich is a good example. In that church there is also a wooden baptistery of the fifteenth century, mutilated; in the church of Trunch there is a similar one perfect, these and the earlier one at Luton in Bedfordshire, are the only examples known in England. Of the ecclesiastical embroidery of the middle ages, several valuable specimens have been preserved in Norwich and the neighbourhood.

Norwich abounds with fragments of the Domestic Architecture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the chief of which are pointed out in the following Notes under their respective parishes.

Norfolk is also justly celebrated for beautiful examples of the moulded brick mansions, of the time of Henry VII. and VIII., of which the ruins of East Barsham hall afford a good specimen.

The churches of Norfolk abound with magnificent fonts of the Perpendicular style, bearing a great general resemblance to each other. In this respect and in some others there is a remarkable coincidence between the east and the west of England; similar fonts are common in Somersetshire and Devonshire. The towers, when square, are generally lofty and sometimes much enriched with panelling of flint and stone. A feature almost peculiar to this part of England is

the small window or opening, filled with rich tracery, in the middle story, commonly called sound-holes, but perhaps more properly air-holes, as their object seems to be to give air to the ringing loft under the belfry.

One of the finest churches in this county, and it is surpassed by few in any part of England, is Cley next the Sea—it was unfortunately not sufficiently accessible from Norwich for the Institute to visit it. The magnificent church of Wymondham has been fully described by Mr. Petit.

Many churches in this county, especially along the east coast, have the chancel in ruins, and often also the porch or some other part: the church at Cromer, which has been a very fine one, and still has a fine tower, is a lamentable example. There are several instances in this county of two churches standing nearly close together, sometimes in the same church-yard.

## CITY OF NORWICH.

THE GUILDHALL was rebuilt in 1407-1413, and still retains many of the original features of that period. It is a good specimen of flint-work, and has some good Perpendicular windows with flowered points to the cusps; but the greater part of the windows are modern, and there are modern additions on the south side. In the front towards the market-place are some square panels with remains of shields of arms, with supporters, of the time of Henry VIII., and some good corbels under them. The interior is also chiefly modern, except the Mayor's council-chamber, which retains its furniture of the time of Henry VIII., and is an interesting specimen of the arrangement of a court of justice at that period, differing very slightly from that now in use. A tower, which had been added to the original building, fell down and destroyed the roof of the council-chamber, which was restored, and other repairs made, in 1534, to which period the present fittings may safely be referred. The wood-work is ornamented with the linen panel, and with small figures of a lion, greyhound, and dragon, used as poppies. In the panels are the arms of Henry VIII., Norwich, the mercers, St. George's company, the grocers,

and merchant adventurers. The windows are filled with painted glass of different periods, with several shields of arms : amongst these occur, the scriveners, the city of Norwich ; those of Robert Browne, mayor in 1522 ; the rebus of Bishop Goldwell ; a merchant's mark impaling the grocers' company ; and the arms of Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, who was connected with this county.

THE CITY WALLS were begun in 1294, and finished in 1320, but were not completely fitted up and fortified until 1342, when Richard Spynk, a wealthy citizen, erected additional walls and towers, with portcullises to the gates, &c. These walls may still be traced all round the city, they are built of flint with brick dressings, and brick arches to carry the alure at the back of the parapet. The gateways are all destroyed, but drawings of them have been preserved, in the possession of Seth W. Stevenson, Esq., and were exhibited in the Museum formed during the meeting.

### CHURCHES OF NORWICH.

ALL SAINTS.—A small plain church of mixed styles, with a Perpendicular square west tower and south porch. The chancel has Decorated windows on the south side ; the east window is modern. There is a vestry on the north side. The roof of the nave is plain open Perpendicular. The font is octagonal, very rich and fine Perpendicular, with figures of the Apostles St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, and St. George ; two small ones in each upper compartment over one large one round the stem ; it has been lately restored, and some of the figures recut. A representation of this beautiful example is given in the "Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts." A font, very similar in design, and apparently by the same hand, may be seen in the church of St. James, Norwich. There are three merchants' marks on monuments in this church : these devices abound in Norwich.

ST. ANDREW.—A large Perpendicular church with aisles and lofty tower at the west end, rebuilt in 1478, in which are ten bells. The church was rebuilt in 1506. There is no chancel-arch. The nave has five arches on each side, large and wide Perpendicular, with flat Tudor arch, well moulded, with clustered shafts. The side windows, clerestory, and roof

all good Perpendicular. The east window of the chancel is Perpendicular, and has fragments of good late glass, including the serpent suspended on a forked tree. The font is Perpendicular, large, massive, and plain. The rood stair-turret remains. There are several late tombs of the Suckling family and a brass, but it is damaged. The vestry is at the east end of the south aisle, with an original door into it from the east end of the aisle, an unusual arrangement. Under the east window of the chancel, on the outside, are some good niches and panels with coats of arms. There are some doggrel verses over the doors, recording the date of the church, &c.

On the south side of this churchyard is a very good piece of flint masonry, the side of a house of the fourteenth century built by William Appleyard, the first mayor of Norwich, for his own residence: he died in 1386. It has good windows in the upper story; the lower story has windows of two wide lancets coupled: the character is that of transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style.

ST. ANDREW'S HALL, or the Common Hall, also in this parish, is a large and fine Perpendicular building, originally the nave and aisles of a fine church. [It was built by Sir Thomas Erpingham, who died in 1428, before it was completely finished.—*Blomefield*.] There are seven arches on each side, large and lofty, of the usual Perpendicular character. The windows of the north aisle and clerestory and the open timber roof are all of the same character; the windows in the south aisle are of the Decorated style, probably belonging to an earlier building; the west window is fine Perpendicular. At the east end is a plaster partition separating this from the original chancel, now used as a church. The south doorway and panelled oak doors are very good. The tower, which was hexagonal, stood between the nave and chancel, and fell in 1712. The stair-turret remains at the junction of the nave and chancel. The chancel part, now the Dutch church, is Perpendicular without aisles, with a good open timber roof and a Decorated east window. Adjoining to the Hall is a domestic or rather monastic building, now the workhouse, under which is a long vaulted passage, with ribs springing from the capitals of shafts, and corbel heads of Decorated character. It was evidently a cloister round three sides of a quadrangle. This cloister and

other parts of the buildings adjacent belonged to the monastery of Black Friars, of which the church is now used as a hall, the use of it having been occasionally granted for civic purposes by the monks from the period of its erection; it was eventually given up altogether to the city on the suppression of the monastery.

In this parish, in London Street, is a very rich Perpendicular doorway, the spandrels and canopy richly carved with foliage: it is said to have been built by John Basingham, goldsmith, in the time of Henry VII., and was the residence of John Belton, goldsmith, in the time of Henry VIII., whose mark also occurs on part of the house. Above the gateway are the arms of Henry VII., the goldsmiths' company, and the city of Norwich.

ST. AUGUSTINE.—A Perpendicular church with some windows which seem to be Decorated. The clerestory is built of flint. There is a modern brick tower, bearing date 1726.

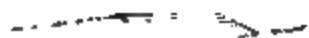
ST. BENEDICT.—A small Perpendicular church with a north aisle only, it has a round tower with an octangular Perpendicular top. The interior of the tower is plain, and does not appear earlier than the thirteenth century.

ST. CLEMENT is chiefly Perpendicular, built as usual here of flint and stone. The east window is apparently early Perpendicular or transition from Decorated. In the churchyard is a tomb to the memory of the parents of Archbishop Parker.

In a court in this parish is a fine panelled oak door of the time of Henry VIII., with an inscription in memory of Prior Augustine, of Ixworth.

ST. EDMUND.—A plain late Perpendicular church, with a west tower and a south aisle. The arches are nearly flat, the sub-arch carried on shafts with moulded caps. Two of the piers have small narrow arches cut through them: these openings are original, and seem intended only to give greater lightness. The roof is good plain timber-work, open to the gable, without either tie-beam or collar, and in the centre of the roof is a large wooden boss carved with the arms of the city, St. George, and St. Edmund, and a scroll, bearing the inscription, "*S. Edmundus, flos Martirum, belut rosa aut*

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES. NORWICH.



DOORWAY OF A HOUSE IN LONDON STREET  
Erected : Henry VI



lilium." The tower is plain Perpendicular, built of flint with stone dressings, and a sound-hole filled with good tracery; the north-west buttress is hollow, possibly hollowed out at some period subsequent to its erection, to receive the weights of a clock, though not now so used. The font is plain octagon. There is an old parish chest strongly bound with iron.

ST. ETHELDRED.—A small plain church of mixed styles, with a round flint tower at the west end. The Norman strings remain on the outside of the walls on both sides. The windows are some Decorated and some Perpendicular insertions. The south doorway is Norman. The south porch Perpendicular. In the chancel is a Norman piscina mutilated. The sedilia consist of a plain stone bench in the sill of the window. There is a good escutcheon and door-handle to the priest's door on the north side. The chancel-arch is plain Perpendicular. The font good Perpendicular octagonal, panelled, with an Elizabethan cover on pillars; the steps with the projection preserved. The lower part of the tower is round; the upper part octagonal, massive, with brick quoins and mouldings of late Perpendicular character.

In this parish is one of the boom towers, corresponding to the one on the opposite side of the river, between which a boom was hung to stop the navigation of the river; they are round towers, built of flint, and in tolerable preservation.

ST. GEORGE COLEGATE.—The church, which is all Perpendicular, has a tall flint and stone tower, having a large belfry and a small bellcot, with three-light windows. The tower and nave were rebuilt in 1459; the chancel in 1498; north aisle and chapel of St. Mary, 1504; south aisle, with chapel of St. Peter, 1513. In the chancel is a fine altar-tomb to Robert Jannis, a great benefactor to this parish and city. The churches of St. Margaret at Colegate, and St. Olave in Cherry Lane (near) were taken down and their cures consolidated with St. George's,—the former in 1349; the latter in 1546.

In this parish, opposite the east end of the church, is the entrance doorway of the house of Henry Bacon, mayor in 1566, with his merchant's mark and arms in the spandrels.

ST. GEORGE TOMBLAND.—The tower of this church is said



to have been built in 1445. (*Blomefield*.) The exterior and tower are Perpendicular, as are also the north and south aisles. The piers seem older.

At the corner of the churchyard is the house of Augustine Steward, mayor at the time of Kett's rebellion in 1549, with some good details of that period. In the yard of the adjoining house are two grotesque figures of Sampson and Hercules; this was the house of Christopher Jay, mayor in 1657. There are the heads of several doorways of the sixteenth century, in the same parish.

ST. GILES.—A fine Perpendicular church, with aisles, and a western tower 120 feet high: rebuilt in the time of Richard II., 1377—1399. The chancel was quite demolished in 1581. The roof is good open wood-work, but the clerestory windows have been modernized. The porch has a fine groined vault, and a rich parapet and cornice. The east window is good early Perpendicular, placed in the chancel-arch, which also has a small window over it. There are several brasses, two of which are engraved by Cotman.

ST. GREGORY.—A good Perpendicular church, with four arches on each side, well moulded with clustered shafts and embattled caps. In this church is a cover for the hearse, a pall of black stuff of very good needlework, with a running pattern over it, and angels crowned, bearing small figures, probably intended for souls: under each of the angels is a fish swallowing a smaller one, probably intended as emblematical of death and immortality. Also an altar cloth made out of a cope of crimson velvet woven with gold thread. They were exhibited in the Museum formed during the meeting. (See Catalogue.) A good brass eagle with the date 1496. The font is good Perpendicular with a wooden cover of the time of James I. A representation is given in the "Illustration of Baptismal Fonts." The altar platform is raised on an arch across a street, which is open for a thoroughfare. The clerestory windows have Decorated tracery; the side windows in the aisles are of mixed character, under arches recessed in the wall. On each side of the altar is some curious Jacobean panelling with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. The roof has part of the old work remaining.

[The chancel was rebuilt in 1394, at the expense of the

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES OF CHURCHES IN NORWICH.

SCUTHEON OF DOOR-HANDLE, ST GREGORY'S.

BRASS LECTERN, ST GREGORY'S



Priory and such benefactors as they could get to contribute to it.—*Blomefield*.] The west tower is good Perpendicular, with a very lofty tower-arch, across which is an original stone gallery for the ringers with groined vaults above and under it; the lower part forming a western porch opening into the north and south porches, which are also groined. There is a curious brass scutcheon for a knocker on the door, very large, which appears to be of the fourteenth century.

ST. HELEN.—A Perpendicular tower is all that remains entire of this church. Part of the nave and the chancel, of which many Perpendicular portions remain, is converted into alms-houses. The south transept has a groined vault with rich carved bosses, which have retained their original painting. They contain representations of the Assumption of the Virgin, and scriptural subjects. The arches and clerestory of that part of the nave which is now used as a church are good Perpendicular with clustered pillars. It was built by Bishop Lyhert in 1451. In the church are some good original poppies, part of the seats put in by John Hecker, master of the hospital, 1526, whose name is still on one of them. Kirkpatrick, the Norwich antiquary, is buried here. The alms-houses retain a good small cloister, and the refectory divided into wards. In the cloister is a Perpendicular doorway, with the arms of Prior Molet, 1453, said to be the entrance to the chapter-house. The chancel, now divided into wards, is a fine specimen of transition from Decorated to Perpendicular, built about 1383. The windows on the north side and the east window retain their tracery; and the roof has a fine painted ceiling, with the old panellings, mouldings gilt, and a black spread eagle in each panel, probably of the time of Philip and Mary. The south doorway and the groining of the vault of the porch are Early English, plain and clumsy.

[St. Giles's Hospital, commonly called "the Old Man's Hospital," was founded in the year 1249 by Walter Suffield, alias Calthorp, bishop of Norwich.—*Blomefield*.]

The revenues of this hospital now amount to above £10,000 a year, yet, to the disgrace of the trustees, this fine church is still allowed to be spoiled by being divided into wards or cells for the old men and women, instead of erecting a suitable building for them, and restoring the church to its proper uses.

[The church of St. Helen, which belonged to the monks and stood in their precinct, opposite to the present hospital, was pulled down, and the parish united to the hospital church of St. Giles; and this is the reason that that church is called St. Helen's at this time.—*Blomefield*.]

In this parish is a tower, by the river side, called "the Dungeon," or "Cow Tower," which was rebuilt by the city in 1390. It is chiefly constructed of brick, and possesses some details deserving of examination.

ST. JULIAN.—A small plain church of mixed styles with aisles; the walls Norman. The west tower is round with a good Norman arch, having shafts with Norman caps and bases. The arch is deeply recessed, slightly pointed, with a small Norman loop window in the thickness of the wall, splayed inside and out. This tower is considered by some as Saxon. The other windows are Decorated and Perpendicular insertions. [In 1361, Thomas Whiting, of Spectishall, was buried in this church, and gave five marks for a new window in the chancel.—*Blomefield*.] The south doorway is plain Norman. The font good Perpendicular, octagonal, cup-shaped, and panelled, with angels in square panels. The north doorway and porch are Decorated.

At a house in this parish, opposite the alley leading to the church, is a brick vault of the fourteenth century, with a good Decorated doorway at the top of the stairs with Decorated mouldings and finial. The ribs are brick, but the construction, chamfering, &c., all correspond, with Decorated stone vaults. The external doorway is also good Decorated, with an ogee arch well moulded, having a Perpendicular larger doorway built over it. This doorway leads into a passage, one side of which is the partition across the end of the hall, with panelling and Perpendicular doorways, with good tracery in the spandrels.

ST. JOHN MADDERMARKE.—A good Perpendicular church without a chancel, with three arches on each side, eight clerestory windows, and a good Perpendicular wooden ceiling. The aisles are also Perpendicular, and the eastern bays of both aisles have very good original painted ceilings, worthy of a careful examination. The east window is fine Decorated, of five lights, with flowing tracery, which seems built into the

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES OF CHURCHES IN NORWICH.

EARLY NORMAN PERIOD



ST JULIAN'S CHURCH



chancel-arch. A street passes immediately under the east end, but there may have been an arch across this, carrying the chancel as in the adjoining church of St. Gregory. The present east wall is in a very bad state, and requires to be rebuilt. There are nine brasses, four of which are engraved by Cotman. The font is modern. The north porch and doorways are good Perpendicular, with a rich groined vault, and very deeply recessed outer doorway. The tower is Perpendicular, and has an archway under it over a thoroughfare.

In this parish, the hall of a mansion of the time of Henry VIII. remains nearly perfect, with the original bay window and its groining, and the tie-beam and king-post of the roof well moulded. At one end are two small doorways, the other end is cut off by a partition. The entrance porch is also groined, with two Perpendicular doorways and an original external staircase.

It is known by the name of the Stranger's Hall, but the tradition on which this name is founded seems very vague. The house belonged to the family of Sotherton in the time of Edward VI. Considerable alterations were made in it by another member of the same family, in the time of James I., to which period belong a good staircase and some windows inserted.

**ST. JOHN SEPULCHRE.**—This church consists of nave, chancel, and tower, and a sort of transept-chapel on each side. The tower-arch is good, and there is a good north porch with a niche, all Perpendicular. The font is a good example of the type so frequently found in Norfolk and Suffolk. The panels are filled alternately with the evangelistic symbols, and angels bearing scutcheons. The shaft has buttresses at four of the angles, and lions sejant at the alternate ones. A representation of this font is given in the "Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts."

**ST. JOHN TIMBERHILL.**—A church of mixed styles, much mutilated. The east window Decorated of four lights. The chancel-arch Decorated, but mutilated. Nave with aisles, and arches Perpendicular. Font Norman, circular, built in close to the altar in 1833, by the side of a good small Decorated piscina. A squint on the south side of the chancel from the nave to the east end of the south aisle. South doorway and



porch Decorated, with groined vault, very clumsy. There is a room over the porch, and the tower has stood there, but is now destroyed, and a wooden belfry on the west gable substituted.

**ST. JAMES.**—A late and poor Perpendicular church with a west tower, south aisle, and a porch which forms externally part of the aisle. The arches are very plain and nearly flat, dying into plain octagon pillars without caps. The tower is square below and of stone; the upper part octagonal, of brick, rebuilt in 1743. The font is rich Perpendicular, octagonal, with a series of panels filled with figures, the heads destroyed: the upper panels have in each two small figures of the Apostles and Evangelists; the eight larger figures below are of female saints. On the gable of the porch are three sitting figures used as pinnacles. The altar cloth is made out of an old cope of the fifteenth century, of faded purple velvet, embroidered with the patterns common at that period.

**ST. LAWRENCE.**—A good late Perpendicular church, with west tower 112 feet high, and aisles on each side. There is no chancel-arch, but the nave-arches differ from those of the chancel. The clerestory is good Perpendicular. The roof very good open timber, the spandrels pierced with elegant open-work. The font good Perpendicular, with a cover of the time of Laud. There are several good brasses; one of an ecclesiastic, Geoffry Langley, prior of St. Faith's, near Norwich, who died 1437. It is a curious example, with a figure of the virgin martyr, St. Faith. This and some other brasses in this church are engraved by Cotman. The tower-arch is very lofty; the south porch has a good Perpendicular doorway, and a good panelled oak door. This church was rebuilt between 1466 and 1472.

**ST. MARGARET DE WESTWICK** has chancel, nave, aisles and square tower, chiefly plain Perpendicular work.

**ST. MARTIN AT OAK, OR COSLANY,** has a plain square tower, some good slender piers, no clerestory, and a south aisle only. The church is built of flint and stone, and is Perpendicular throughout. It was rebuilt in 1491.

**ST. MARTIN AT PALACE.**—A plain Perpendicular church.

The clerestory windows are all blocked up excepting one on each side. The aisles are continued to the east end; the arches on the south side die into plain octagon pillars; those on the north side have the sub-arch carried on shafts with moulded caps. The chancel-arch is lofty but plain, and dies into the piers without caps. The windows are wide, rather late Perpendicular. The font is good octagon, panelled, with eight shafts to the stem and panels between them. The roof of the chancel is the original open timber-work; those of the nave and aisles are patched. The tower-arch is lofty Perpendicular; the tower itself modern. The porch has a room over it; the cut flint-work remarkably good. The two eastern angles of the chancel have very decided long and short work, with Roman-like tiles above; but these appear to be old materials used up again.

**ST. MARY AT COSLANY.**—A fine Perpendicular church, cruciform, with a tall round tower at the west end, built of flint in the usual manner, but of the same age as the church. The chancel has large arches recessed in the side walls, with the windows under them. The roof of the chancel has a boarded ceiling, panelled, with rich perforated work, which would have a fine effect if properly coloured. The roof of the transepts is good plain open timber-work. The pulpit is original, of wood, panelled, with tracery in the upper part of the panels, and the linen pattern below; it has a perforated iron projection for the purpose of a book-board, which appears to be ancient. There are six stalls remaining in the chancel. The font is the usual octagon panelled Perpendicular, but with painted shields of arms in the upper panels. The tower-arch is tall, with shafts in the jambs, having moulded caps and bases; the tower itself is quite plain. The belfry appears to be an addition, though not long after the rest; it contains six bells besides the little bell above; some of them are ancient: two of them have these inscriptions—

“*Dulcis cisto melis, campana vocor Michaelis.*”

“*In multis annis resonet campana Johannis.*”

The nave is recorded to have been built in 1477, and the whole church is nearly of the same date. The south porch has a good groined vault, and a richly-moulded doorway,

with a room over it. In the north wall of the chancel is an Elizabethan tomb, with the figures incised on stone, of Martin Van Kurnbeck, doctor of medicine, and Joanna his wife, deceased 1578. There is a square-headed foliated piscina in the south transept. At the west end of the nave, on the north side, there was an inscription commemorating the endowment of a light near the altar of the Holy Trinity, by Thomas de Lincole, or Linccoln, one of the bailiffs of Norwich 1275 and 1281. He died about 1298. (*Blomefield*.)

ST. MICHAEL AT COSLANY.—This church may be noticed as a very fine specimen of Norfolk building in flint and stone. It prevails in a great number of the churches, and at a short distance the effect is good. The tracery mouldings—some real, some apparent—and the ornaments, small battlements, Tudor flowers, and other embellishments, are cut in stone, and the interstices, representing the sunk parts, filled up with flint. In this church a portion of the chancel is built in this way, and the work being well executed, and very minute, its effect is very curious. It may be well to state that in some churches this mixture is found of Decorated character, with the elegant forms of that style beautifully made out, and it is possible there may be some of it of a still earlier date. The flint-work of this church is Perpendicular, and the design very good. With the exception of the south aisle, which is Early English, this church is entirely Perpendicular. There is no clerestory. The windows are very large, of four lights. (*Rickman*.)

[In 1497, John Bishop, Esq., buried in the church, gave £10 towards rebuilding it. The north aisle and chantry chapel of St. John Baptist were built by William Ramsey, who lies buried in his chapel, under a large altar tomb, robbed of all its brasses except his merchant's mark and the initial letters of his name on each side of it, and on the window are two rams and an A as a rebus for Ramsa or Ramsey; he was sheriff in 1498, and mayor in 1502 and 1508, in which year the chapel was finished. The south porch and aisle were begun by Alderman Gregory Clerk, who died in 1479, and finished by his son, who was mayor in 1514, and died in 1516; at the east end of this aisle is a chapel of beautiful workmanship, constructed with freestone and black flints; this is the chantry chapel of the Virgin Mary, which

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES OF CHURCHES IN NORWICH.

FLINT AND STONE WORK CHANCEL ST MICHAEL, COSLANY

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ARCHITECTURAL NOTES OF CHURCHES IN NORWICH.

CRESTED PARAPET OF PORCH, ST. GILES'S. Drawn, & Exec. II.

1867/77 281

LECTERN, ST. MICHAEL'S

1867/77 281

was built and endowed by Robert Thorp in the time of Henry VII.—*Blomefield.*]

ST. MICHAEL AT PLEA.—St. Michael *ad placita*, commonly called St. Miles at Plea, because here the archdeacon of Norwich used to hold his pleas or courts. A cruciform church, with a low flint tower and modern bell-turret. There is no clerestory. A good south porch, and a north and south aisle to the chancel. The aisle windows are lofty and have sunk panels, and quatrefoils and shields on the plinths. It contains some paintings on panel of the Crucifixion, &c.; they are enumerated by Blomefield.

ST. MICHAEL AT THORN. (*ad spinas.*)—A small plain church of mixed styles, chiefly Perpendicular, with a north aisle to the nave only, and a very small square west tower, built in 1430. The south doorway is good Norman, and the door has the original iron-work. The porch is Perpendicular, of brick. The font good Perpendicular, panelled, with an Elizabethan cover. A good Perpendicular wooden lectern. It is named from a large white thorn still standing in the churchyard.

ST. PAUL.—A small poor church, chiefly Perpendicular, with a round tower at the west end, and a north aisle: the arches are wide, flattish, four-centred on octagon pillars with moulded caps and bases. There is a parclose at the east end of the aisle; the two screens are of different patterns, but both Perpendicular. The side windows of the chancel are Decorated. This church is in a shamefully neglected state, as are some others.

ST. PETER HUNGATE, or HOUNDES-GATE.—The church has a small square tower and a transept. It is of flint and stone, all Perpendicular. The porch was built by Nicholas Ingham, mercer, who was buried in it in 1497. This parish received its name, as it is stated, from the hounds formerly kept there for the bishop's use.

[It appears from the date in stone on the buttress by the north door that it was finished in 1460, where there is an old trunk of an oak, represented without any leaves, to signify the decayed church; and from the root springs a fresh branch with acorns on it, to denote the new one, raised where the



old one stood, the words are, "FUNDATA IN ANNO DOMINI MCCCCLX."—*Blomefield*.] This device and inscription may still be discerned.

Amongst the Norfolk collections in the possession of Mr. Hudson Gurney, there is an original MS. history of Norwich, by Mackarell, the historian of Lynn, who gives this device, now much effaced. It appears to have been a staff raguly, resembling the device of the Beauchamps; and the inscription, of which Blomefield has given a conjectural reading *in extenso*, is simply,—f i a d' m cccc lx. There is, amongst other church plate, a curious standing cup and cover, the gift of Thomas Lane. On one of the bells is the legend—In honore Sancti Marie Virginis.

ST. PETER MANCROFT.—A large and fine Perpendicular church, cruciform, with aisles and porches, and a vestry at the east end, with a rich Perpendicular west tower covered with panelling: the usual mixture of flint and stone; but with more stone than is generally found in these parts. The west door is fine Perpendicular, deeply recessed, with rich sculpture in shallow hollow mouldings: a very good example of the Norfolk Perpendicular. The west window is also large and fine Perpendicular. Under the tower is a sort of large porch, with a groined vault, with fine side arches, over which is a western gallery open to the church by a fine tower-arch, now blocked up by a modern gallery and large organ, which ought to be removed. The north porches have rich groined vaults with panelling and tracery, and a room over the principal one, some of the windows of which are mutilated, the others are good Perpendicular; and there is a good stair-turret in the angle. The roof of the nave is good open Perpendicular work of timber, with a sort of wooden vault over each window, like a stone roof. The clerestory is also fine Perpendicular, with seventeen windows on each side, with good Perpendicular tracery, having short transoms in the head. The vaulting shafts are brought down to the bottom of the clerestory windows, and have niches under them. The arches and pillars are fine Perpendicular, seven on each side. There is no chancel-arch; the only division is made by the steps.

There is a chapel on each side the nave, like a small transept. The font is Perpendicular, plain, or mutilated; it stands under a very remarkable Perpendicular canopy, supported by

2018-19 Annual Report

Page 2

2018-19 Annual Report

2018-19 Annual Report





ARCHITECTURAL NOTES OF CHURCHES IN NORWICH.

WEST DOOR, ST PETER MANCROFT

pillars forming a baptistery on a raised platform, with room to walk round the font. The upper part of this canopy, lately removed, was Elizabethan; but all the lower part is genuine Perpendicular work. The original vestry under the east window, behind the high altar, has two doors into it, one on each side the altar; also stairs from it up the corner turrets at the east end, which are very remarkable, with singular open canopies. The band under the windows of the aisles is enriched with panelling and shields. At the west end of the north aisle, by the font, is a piece of tapestry, with the date 1573; the subject is the Ascension, the colours much faded. In the vestry is a very curious piece of sculptured alabaster, coloured, consisting of a number of female saints in a group. A representation of it may be found in Carter's "Sculpture and Painting," pl. 77. There is also some very fine church plate of early date. There is a brass of Sir Peter Rede, 1568, (Cotman,) and Sir Thomas Browne is buried in this church.

[In 1390 it was determined to demolish the old church and build a new one; and from that time to 1430 many legacies were left and gifts given for that use, and then they pulled down the whole and built the present church, which was finished and consecrated in 1455. In 1441 the whole profits were assigned by the college to rebuild the chancel, and the parish chaplain, and all that served, have remitted their stipends this year for that purpose.—*Blomefield*.] The meaning of Mancroft is "Magna Crofta Castelli," or the great croft of the castle, now the market place.

In this parish is also part of a house of the time of Henry VIII., with a good panelled ceiling, some windows, and a groined vault to a cellar, with ribs of moulded brick, and some sunk panels also of moulded brick, with arms, &c., which seem to be cast from the same moulds with some at East Barsham hall. These premises are now in the occupation of Messrs. Barnard and Boulton, by whose obliging attention they were cleared, and opened to view, for the gratification of the members of the Institute, during the meeting.

ST. PETER MOUNTERGATE.—A good Perpendicular church without aisles, but with large and lofty side windows. The tower is at the west end, good tall Perpendicular, with very

good small square windows; the west doorway also good Perpendicular, with shields over it; on the north side is a half octagonal stair-turret. The rood stair-turret remains, good octagonal Perpendicular, with small windows: there are also portions of a good Perpendicular screen. At the east end, under the east window, is an original Perpendicular vestry, with a good niche; the upper part modern. This church was built in 1486. The name originated in a gate formerly placed at the foot of a hill or mount, near the church.

**ST. PETER SOUTHGATE.**—A small plain church of late Perpendicular work, with a square flint tower and south porch. The windows are chiefly square-headed, and the whole of the work late and poor. [The north chapel was erected in 1518. —*Blomefield.*] There is a brass, which is engraved by Cotman. Some remains of painted glass and a good cross on the east gable.

In this parish is the most perfect and the largest of the towers of the city walls, faced with flint: it is called the "Governor's Tower," and occupies a very commanding situation.

**ST. SAVIOUR.**—A Perpendicular church, with a tall flint and stone tower. The font is good, with the usual octagonal panelled basin and rather a peculiar stem, consisting of four shafts resting on lions' heads, and carried through ogee canopies with pinnacles between. The chancel is Decorated, and the upper windows of the tower have flamboyant tracery. The south porch is turned into a vestry.

**ST. SIMON AND ST. JUDE.**—This church has a low flint and stone tower, no aisles, all Perpendicular. The east window is modern. There is a good panelled wooden door to the vestry, with a figure of St. Simon in one spandrel, and three fishes entwined in the other. This was a common ornament in the time of Henry VIII., and was probably one of the numerous emblems of the Trinity.

[In 1446, on condition the parishioners rebuilt their steeple, as they did, there were twenty marks given towards new roofing the chancel, which was done also.—*Blomefield.*]

**ST. STEPHEN.**—A large Perpendicular church of late cha-





ARCHITECTURAL NOTES. NORWICH CHURCHES.

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ROOF OF ST STEPHEN'S CHURCH

racter. The pillars have flat square panellings; there is the date of 1550 under the west window, which is that of the nave; the chancel was rebuilt in 1501-1521. The font is of the same character. There is some good painted glass in the east window, with the date 1601, and the tower bears the same date. There are nine brasses, four of which are engraved by Cotman, an alabaster tablet of saints preserved in the vestry, and some old stalls.

ST. SWITHIN.—A small church of mixed styles. The side windows of the aisles are all Decorated; the clerestory and roof late Perpendicular. The four arches on the north side of the nave are Perpendicular, with octagonal pillars, each face hollowed; those on the south side are modern. The east window also modern, very bad, but has two bits of old painted glass remaining. The tower-arch is very lofty, but plain; part of the old screen remains, about four feet high, with figures of dogs for poppies; it does not appear ever to have been higher. On one panel, belonging to this screen, but now loose, and kept in the clerk's house, is a painting of St. Edward the Confessor, time of Henry VII. There is a good brass, in the costume of the time of Edward IV., with a merchant's mark. The font is good Perpendicular, sculptured with emblems of saints, &c. There are some stalls remaining with misereres.

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*There are five small hamlet churches belonging to the city of Norwich.*

#### HEIGHAM.

A plain and poor Perpendicular church, with a south aisle and a tall square tower. The roof is original, plain, open timber, without a clerestory; the windows are plain square-headed, of two lights. In the chancel is the tomb of Bishop Hall, with a figure of a skeleton, gilt, on black marble. The east window is Decorated, and there is a cross on the gable. The font is late Perpendicular, panelled, with roses and shields in the panels, and figures of lions round the stem.

At Heigham, the house in which Bishop Hall resided when deprived of his bishopric, now the Dolphin inn, is an Elizabethan house, with some fragments of earlier work built in. Over the door is the date 1587, and in the flint-work 1619. In the hall, by the side of the door, is a Decorated piscina, with a crocketed canopy. One room has a good plaster ceiling, and a carved oak door of the time of Elizabeth. There is also a part of a staircase with a good carved post and poppy.

#### EARLHAM. ST. MARY.

A small poor Decorated church, consisting of chancel, nave, west tower, north chapel, and south porch. The windows are all quite plain, of two lights, without foliation: the doorways of the same character. The porch is Perpendicular, with a room over: the arch is of moulded brick. The chancel has arches recessed in the walls: a Decorated piscina with cinquefoil head: the chancel-arch quite plain, with a good Perpendicular screen. The south chapel is also Decorated, with a piscina. The font is Perpendicular, octagon, with quatrefoil panels.

#### EATON. ST. ANDREW.

A small plain church, with a Perpendicular west tower. The windows are chiefly small lancets, rather short and wide, without any ornament: the east window is Decorated, of three lights, with intersecting mullions, quite plain, without cusps and without mouldings of any kind. There is a piscina with a trefoil head; the sedilia are formed partly in the sill of a window, and partly by a plain recess in the wall, entirely without ornament. The north doorway is Decorated, with good mouldings, and with a stoup inside of it; the south doorway is also Decorated, but blocked up. The roof is thatched and ceiled. The tower is plain Perpendicular, with a good west window and tower-arch, and contains three bells with inscriptions. The font is modern.

#### HELLESDON. ST. MARY.

A small mixed church, consisting of chancel, nave, and north aisle, with a wooden pigeon-house bell-cot on the west gable, having a small shingle spire. The chancel is Perpendicular, with a double piscina, and a remarkably good

Perpendicular low side window, having the shutter and iron-work. On the north side, a Perpendicular stone screen and door to a chantry. The nave is Perpendicular, but the windows have their mullions and tracery cut out; there is a niche for an image on the north side of the chancel-arch; the arches are Perpendicular, with clustered pillars having moulded caps and bases; the roof is plain open timber on good corbel-heads. The aisle is Decorated, but only one window retains its tracery: at the east end a Perpendicular chantry has been added, of which the east window and the piscina remain. The north doorway is Decorated; the south Perpendicular, both the doors have good hinges, ornamented with leaves, worked in iron. The south porch is Perpendicular, with a good doorway, and niches in the front; a groined vault with ribs and bosses, and a room over it, and traces of a curious squint from this room towards the altar. The font is Decorated, octagonal; the basin ornamented with circular panels enclosing quatrefoils: the stem is surrounded by shafts with moulded caps and bases. In the churchyard is a plain cross, of which the base and stem only remain: they seem to be of the fifteenth century.

#### LAKENHAM. ST. JOHN BAPTIST, AND ALL SAINTS.

A small poor Decorated church, with a wretched modern south aisle, and a tall tower of good flint-work: this is also of the fourteenth century, though quite plain. There is a piscina, with a trefoil head across the south-east angle of the chancel, and a square locker in the east wall. The font is good rich Perpendicular, octagon, panelled, with the emblems of the Evangelists, &c., in the upper panels, and square flowers in the lower ones. The spandrels of the niches round the stem and the lower part of the basin are ornamented with good foliage.

IN THE IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF  
NORWICH.

## CAISTOR CASTLE, OR CAMP, NEAR NORWICH.

THE remains of an extensive Roman station, in a less perfect state than Burgh castle, but still very interesting, having been one of the principal Roman stations in this part of the county. It is a square single vallum and rampart, with remains of a wall of flint and tile inclosing about thirty acres, being a parallelogram of about 440 by 360 paces. The principal entrance appears to have been on the east side, with watch-towers. A ground-plan is given in *Philos. Trans.*, No. 493, and Camden's *Britannia*, edited by Gough, vol. ii. pl. v.

The church of St. Edmund, king and martyr, stands near the south-east corner, within the walls of the Roman fortress. It is a small church of mixed styles, chiefly built of the materials taken from the walls. The chancel has Early English lancet windows, and a low side window; but the east window and the chancel-arch are Perpendicular, and the windows of the nave are insertions of the same period. The doorways are Decorated: the north one has good mouldings, the hood-mould terminated by heads with the costume of Edward III.; the south is turned into a window. The tower is also of the fourteenth century, with windows of two lights, but plain. The font is good rich Perpendicular, panelled, with sculptures of the emblems of the Holy Trinity, the four Evangelists, and the instruments of the Passion, the arms of the East Angles, West Saxons, and Bury abbey. It stands on two steps, the top one panelled. It is supposed to have been made, according to Blomefield, by Richard de Castre, a native of this place, and vicar of St. Stephen's, Norwich, from 1402 to 1419, when he died. He was so beloved by the people that pilgrimages were made to his grave. See Blomefield's account of St. Stephen's parish, and Pits.

## TROWSE.

A plain church of mixed styles, without aisles, but with a west tower and south porch. The chancel has a fine early Decorated east window with geometrical tracery of quatrefoils; a piscina of the same character; a lancet window, and an Early English doorway on the north side. The other windows are Perpendicular, but probably insertions. By the side of the east window, on the exterior, is a niche for an image, with an inscription on a panel under it: "WILEMUS DE KIRKEBI PRIOR NORWIC ME POSUIT CUIUS ANIME PROPICIETUR DEUS." William de Kirkeby was prior from 1272 to 1288.

There is a good cross on the east gable. The tower is lofty, square, plain Perpendicular.

## BIXLEY.

A small plain Early English church, with some of the windows and the south door original: the east window and some of the others are Perpendicular insertions. The west tower is also plain square Perpendicular, with an octagonal stair-turret; the tower has quoins of stone, the turret of brick.

## ARMINGHALL.

A small plain church, with a thatched roof, Early English walls, the north and south doorways, and several lancet windows remaining; other windows are Decorated and Perpendicular insertions. There is a low side window on the south side of the chancel. The tower is Decorated, with large two-light belfry windows; the lower windows small and square-headed.

At Arminghall, is an Elizabethan house, of timber and moulded brick, with sunk panels, pillars, &c., of that period: the materials of an older building are worked up with these, and Cotman mentions a tradition that some of the materials were brought from Carrow abbey. The entrance doorway of the south porch is good and rich Decorated, with two figures in niches on each side, having ogee canopies, pinnacles, crockets, and finials. Another doorway at the back has very bold and good foliage of the vine sculptured in the jambs; the lintel is of wood, carved in imitation of the stone-

work: there is similar foliage in the large doorway. The doorway under the porch is good Perpendicular, with the original oak door having the date carved upon it. Over the doorway is a sunk panel, filled with sculpture of a man pulled off his horse by a lion.

#### PORINGLAND.

A mixed church, without aisles, with a west tower. The chancel is Decorated; the east end late in the style. The east window is blocked up; it has niches on each side and one over it, with remains of a figure; these have square labels but Decorated mouldings; the cusps have flowered terminations; there is an air-hole in the upper part of the gable. The side windows of the chancel, the piscina, and the priest's door are good Decorated. The north and south doorways are of the same character, but the nave has a Perpendicular clerestory added, without aisles, and windows inserted; the roof is open, but late and plain. There are some open seats with good carved poppies. There is a stoup-niche inside the south door, and a small one in the east jamb of the priest's door. The altar slab remains in the floor of the chancel. There is some old glass in the east window, brought from other parts, containing small figures of the Saviour and St. John the Baptist, a shield with the emblems of the Crucifixion, &c. The font is rich Perpendicular, octagon, panelled, with bold sculptures of the emblems of the Evangelists, &c. The tower is of flint, round and plain Early English, with a small window and tower-arch; the octagon belfry is a Decorated addition, with stone quoins and four windows of two lights, foliated.

#### FRAMLINGHAM EARL.

A small church of very early character, with several curious features. The chancel has a Decorated east end window, and piscina; but on the north side are remains of two small round windows, the opening not more than nine inches in diameter, widely splayed within and without; on the south side is one of these, and there are two small narrow lancet windows. On each side is a flat shallow buttress of flint-work. The chancel-arch is good Norman, enriched on the west side with zigzags and the embattled moulding; on each side are squints

with irregular pointed arches. The nave has a plain round-headed window on each side, splayed within and without. The doorways are good Norman; the south door small and narrow with a rich head and imposts, one covered with the star ornament, the other with the billet and cable; the hood-mould with the star and round medallions; the jambs plain. The north doorway is larger than the south, the arch-moulds ornamented with the billet; it has had shafts, of which one cap remains, the imposts enriched with the star ornament, and there is a head over the doorway. The tower is plain round flint, with small round-headed windows widely splayed within but not without; the tower-arch is round, small, plain, square-edged, not recessed, but has the usual Norman imposts. Over the tower-arch is another small window which would have opened into the church. The font is plain octagon Perpendicular. Many persons will consider part of this church to be Saxon.

#### FRAMLINGHAM PIGOT.

A small plain church of early character, built of flint with brick and tile groins; it has a small round window, and a plain loop splayed inside and out, like the other Framlingham. Most of the windows are plain lancets. The north doorway is pointed transition Norman. There is a modern brick bell-cot on the west gable.

#### KIRBY BEDON.

A small poor church, chiefly Perpendicular, but has the base of a round tower, and a Norman doorway, with the old oak door and iron-work. The tower-arch is transition Norman. The windows are all plain Perpendicular, mostly square-headed. There are several small brasses; one of a heart and the Trinity.

Close to this is the ruin of another small plain church, of flint with stone quoins. The round tower remains nearly perfect, and seems to be transition from Norman with a Decorated belfry added, with brick jambs, arches, and mullions to the windows. The original belfry windows below are Early English; the rest of the church seems to have been transition from Norman to Early English, but none of the windows are perfect, and it is overgrown with ivy.



FIRST EXCURSION.—*Saturday, July 31.*

## EAST DEREHAM. ST. NICHOLAS.

A very fine church of mixed styles, consisting of a chancel, double transepts, a lantern tower, nave, and aisles, and a detached belfry tower. The walls of the chancel are Early English, and the two windows nearest the east end are triple lancets; there is also a two-light Early English window, with a quatrefoil in the head on the north side; but two on the south side are Perpendicular, and the east window is also Perpendicular, but inserted in Early English jambs, which retain their mouldings, and the dripstone over the arch terminated by masks; over this is a small round window of the same style foliated. The buttresses are also Early English, and the two eastern ones are ornamented with sunk panels, having heads projecting from them: there is a good double piscina with the tooth ornament, a locker, and three sedilia with detached shafts, and a priest's door with fine mouldings, now blocked up. The chancel-arch is Perpendicular, but evidently altered from Norman, the twisted shafts remaining on the west side of the jambs. Westward of this, on the north side, is an Early English arch, and on the south side a Perpendicular one opening into the original transepts, which have painted ceilings ornamented with the spread eagle, &c. The Early English central tower was probably in this situation; the present lantern tower stands immediately to the west, it is good Perpendicular, standing on four fine arches; the lantern open to the church, with a triforium arcade and clerestory windows above; the present transepts are also Perpendicular, corresponding with this tower.

The nave consists of five bays, the arches have Perpendicular mouldings in front, but at the back, in the aisles, they appear to be Early English, and they rest on Early English pillars with boldly moulded caps: the pillars on the south side are alternately round and octagon; those on the north side are clustered; the clerestory is Perpendicular, the roof modern: the west window is fine Decorated, of five lights with interlacing tracery; the west door is also Decorated, with an ogee-headed niche on each side. The north aisle



ARCHITECTURAL NOTES—EAST DEREHAM CHURCH.

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FONT

See page 123 The Sculptures represent the Seven Sacraments

has Decorated windows and buttresses and a Perpendicular doorway: the south aisle has Perpendicular windows, but the buttresses and strings are Early English. The south doorway is also fine Early English, with a bold trefoil arch, the ends of the cusps ornamented with flowers and heads. The south porch is rich Perpendicular, built by Roger and Margaret Boton, who lived in the time of Henry VII., and their names are inscribed on the walls; it has two stoups, one on each side of the outer doorway. The font is fine Perpendicular, a good specimen of the usual Norfolk character, octagon, panelled, late, with small groups of sculpture in the upper panels representing the seven Sacraments of the Roman Church and the crucifixion, and single figures of saints in the lower panels, but all much mutilated; it stands on fine panelled steps. It was erected in 1468, and an extract from the church accounts, shewing its cost, is printed by Blomefield, and in the *Archæologia*, vol. x. p. 196. There is a fine wooden chest, with a series of sculptured figures of saints, late work, and probably Flemish: it has a beautiful lock of earlier character. There is a brass eagle, and there are several small monumental brasses.

The detached belfry tower stands in the churchyard, south-east of the chancel; it is good Perpendicular, built in a bold massive style of flint with stone dressings: this was erected in 1501-1516.

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## EXCURSION TO BINHAM AND WALSINGHAM.

### NORTH ELMHAM. ST. MARY.

A fine church of mixed styles, consisting of chancel, transept-chapels, nave with aisles, and west tower. The chancel is Early English, late in the style and partly transition to Decorated, the original windows remain on the north side, but the east window is modern and a Perpendicular one is inserted on the south side; the sedilia and a double piscina are original and good bold specimens. The priest's door is introduced in a very singular manner diagonally across the angle formed by the south wall of the chancel and the east wall of the aisle. There is an arch on each side of the

chancel, near the chancel-arch, presenting a curious mixture of Norman and Early English, the piers on the east side being Norman, but those on the west Early English. The chancel-arch is Perpendicular, wide and lofty. The nave has six bays; the arches Early English, plain and bold, early in the style; the pillars alternately round and octagon, with moulded caps. The aisles are both Decorated, with good windows. The north transept-chapel is Decorated; the south Perpendicular, with a singular piscina. The clerestory has large and fine Perpendicular windows, and there is a similar one over the chancel-arch, this is a common feature in Norfolk. The roofs are plain open Perpendicular. The north doorway is Early English, with a very singular corbel-table over it, supporting a horizontal projection, the whole original, apparently as a substitute for a porch. The south doorway is Early English, with a plain Decorated porch. The tower is good early Perpendicular, with an arch open to the church, over which is the weather-mould of an earlier roof before the clerestory was built; a small rich west porch is introduced over the west door, between the buttresses, having the ribs of the vault and door arches enriched with flowers in hollow mouldings; the upper part of the tower is fine Perpendicular, with a battlement and pinnacles.

#### LITTLE SNORING. ST. ANDREW.

A very singular little church, with a detached round tower. The chancel is transition Norman, with two lancet windows at the east end: a Norman doorway, blocked up, on the north side, and a plain transition Norman chancel-arch. The nave has two small Norman windows near the west end, and two Norman doorways; the west window is Decorated; the other windows are late and modernized. In the south wall long and short work is introduced at intervals to strengthen the flint-work; and the lancet windows at the east end have long and short work in the jambs. The south doorway is very curious transition Norman work (there is an engraving of it by Cotman somewhat caricatured): it has a stilted horse-shoe arch; under this a pointed one ornamented with zigzags; and under this again, the round arch of the door with shafts in the jambs, having sculptured capitals. The south porch is Decorated. The font is late Norman, very rich, with sculptured foliage.

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES. CHURCHES IN NORFOLK.

DETAILS, EAST DERHAM CHURCH



PLAN.

PRIEST'S DOOR NORTH ELMHAM



The round tower or belfry stands about five feet from the church, on the south side of the west end; the east side of it is flat in the lower part, and has a large round-headed recessed arch, with plain Norman imposts, which has evidently been the tower-arch of a previous church; the windows of the tower are small, with trefoil heads.

#### GREAT SNORING. ST. MARY.

A large church of mixed styles, consisting of chancel, nave, south aisle, and west tower. The chancel has a Decorated east window of five lights, with interlacing tracery, but the cusps cut out. Sedilia and piscina of the same style, much mutilated. The altar platform remains of its original level, raised on three steps. There is a band of Perpendicular panels along the bottom of the east wall behind the altar. The side windows and chancel-arch are also Perpendicular. On the altar-platform is the brass of Sir Ralph Shelton, 1423, and his wife, mutilated, but the figure of the lady perfect; the armorial bearings had been enamelled. These effigies have been engraved by Cotman. The nave has on the north side three Perpendicular windows, and on the south, four plain Early English arches: the clerestory is late, and the roof modern. The north doorway is Decorated with a dripstone terminated by heads. The south aisle has Perpendicular windows and traces of an altar at the east end, with a squint to it from the nave; the south doorway is plain Early English, with a Perpendicular panelled oak door. The porch is Perpendicular. The tower is good early Perpendicular, lofty, with diagonal buttresses: there is a fine tower-arch and west window, but as the arch is plastered up the window is not visible from the church. The west doorway is good early Perpendicular, and the belfry windows; the small windows are single lights with ogee heads.

The rectory-house is of moulded brick-work of the time of Henry VIII.

#### BINHAM ABBEY AND CHURCH. HOLY CROSS.

*Founded between 1093 and 1106, and attached to St. Alban's abbey.*

The remains of a fine abbey church, the nave with the west front being the only parts at all perfect. Of the aisles, transepts, central tower, and chancel a few ruins only remain;



these are chiefly Norman. The nave consists of seven bays, all originally pure Norman, rather early, with massive square piers having shafts in nooks at the angles; the outer arch moulded, the inner plain. The triforium arches are the same as the lower ones. The clerestory is also Norman, each window having small arches on the sides, with detached shafts, bold and good; the centre arch stilted with small shafts in the angles, on the caps of the large ones. On the exterior the windows are plain, with a nebule corbel-table over them.

The west front is very fine Early English; on the ground is a rich arcade with perforated panels in the spandrels and under the heads of the side arches; the centre arch is a rich doorway, with fine mouldings and varieties of the enriched tooth ornament. Over this arcade is a magnificent west window of two principal lights and a foliated circle in the head, each light subdivided in the same manner; a great part of this fine window is now bricked up. The ends of the aisles which form part of the west front have each a small good doorway, and over it a tall window of two lights with transoms and sub-arches, and a foliated circle in the head; the cusps of the large circle and some of the small have flowered points. On the gable is an Early English bell-cot with the bell in it. The font is rich Perpendicular, octagon, panelled, each panel filled with sculpture now mutilated: it stands on a broad step with a panelled edge; the sculptures in the upper panels seem to have been the seven Sacraments and the Trinity; the lower ones, single figures of saints in niches. There are some remains of a screen, the figures of saints covered with white paint, texts from Scripture being placed upon it in large bold characters. There are some good open seats with poppies and perforated backs; some of the patterns resembling Decorated work, but they are Perpendicular. There are also a few good Perpendicular stalls. The east wall and the roof are modern.

The remains of the gate-house are Early English. The foundations of the other domestic buildings of the abbey may be traced.

In the village the cross still retains its shafts and steps.

#### OLD (OR GREAT) WALSINGHAM. ST. PETER.

The nave, aisles, and west tower of a fine Decorated church: the chancel destroyed. The south porch is Perpendicular.

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES—BINHAM PRIORY CHURCH.

VARIETIES OF THE TOOTH ORNAMENTS, FROM THE WEST FRONT

OPEN SEAT IN THE NAVE



The pillars and arches of the nave and the tower-arch are late Decorated, with clustered pillars and moulded caps; the aisles have good windows with flowing tracery, and the doorways are well moulded; the clerestory windows are good Decorated quatrefoils; the roof is Perpendicular, plain, open timber-work. The tower is Decorated, with a fine west window, small belfry windows, and a plain parapet. There are Decorated piscinas at the east end of both aisles. The font is plain Perpendicular octagon, panelled. There are some fine open seats with good poppies and perforated backs; some have Decorated patterns, but others have the linen panel, and all are Perpendicular.

Some fragments of sculpture, &c., apparently brought from the ruins of the chancel, are built up in the walls of a house in the village.

#### NEW (OR LITTLE) WALSINGHAM. ST. MARY.

A fine large Perpendicular church, consisting of chancel, chapel-transepts, nave, aisles, and west tower. The whole is good plain Perpendicular: the roof canted with moulded wall-plates. The sedilia are formed in the sill of a window, with a panelled back. The font is very fine Perpendicular, of the usual Norfolk character, octagon, panelled, on large panelled steps: the upper panels have groups of sculptured figures of the seven Sacraments and the Crucifixion. The tower is good Perpendicular, with a shingle spire. The west doorway and small porch over it are very rich; the outer arch foliated. There is a fine south porch, with a fan-tracery vault, and a room over it. At the east end of the south aisle, on the exterior, a half arch is recessed in the wall, to allow room for the priest's door on the south side of the chancel; an arrangement similar to the celebrated Norman example at St. Cross near Winchester, but this is Perpendicular. There has been a vestry on the north side of the chancel, now destroyed. There are some open seats and stall-desks with poppies of the time of Henry VIII., some portions of the screen, and several small brasses. Some curious Elizabethan tombs, one representing a bed with curtains; another, a snake pierced by an arrow, a rebus of Robert Anguish, date 1590.

WALSINGHAM, PRIORY OF OUR LADY, COMMONLY CALLED  
THE ABBEY.

*Founded about 1601.*

The remains of this once celebrated place are now very small. Of the chapel of our Lady we have only part of a fine Perpendicular east front, consisting of two stair-turrets covered with panelling of flint and stone, with rich niches, &c., and fine buttresses connected by the arch and gable over the east window, but the window itself is destroyed. In the gable is a small round window, with flowing tracery, set in the middle of a very thick flint wall. Near the chapel is a portion of the refectory, consisting of a range of four early Decorated windows, with the staircase to the pulpit in the wall. There is also a doorway and vault of another apartment. The entrance gateway is good Perpendicular, with some small portions of other buildings on each side of it: over the gate on the exterior is an amusing figure of a man's head looking out of a small quatrefoil window. There are also other panels and gurgoyles. The holy wells are quite plain, round, and uncovered, and on one side of them is a square bath; on the other side, a small Early English doorway. In the town is a Perpendicular covered well or conduit.

WALSINGHAM FRANCISCAN FRIARY OR PRIORY.

*Founded by the Lady Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Clare, in 1346.*

These ruins consist of considerable fragments of the walls of Perpendicular domestic buildings, with buttresses and square-headed windows, and the gable of the refectory. They are very extensive, and the plan might be made out; but they are very late and poor work.

EAST BARSHAM HALL.

The ruins of a fine brick mansion, built by Sir William Fermor, in the time of Henry VII. and the beginning of Henry VIII. The ornaments are all of moulded brick: over the gateways are the royal arms, supported by the greyhound and griffin, with the portcullis in the corners. There are bands of panels with various shields and heads; ogee canopies with crockets and finial; hollow mouldings filled with roses;

**ARCHITECTURAL NOTES. WALSINGHAM PRIORY.**

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REMAINS OF A PULPIT IN THE REFECTORY







1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were absent from the meeting.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

octagon and round turrets, and handsome chimneys ornamented with fleurs-de-lis, roses, &c., all in moulded brick. Two views, with a short memoir on this interesting example of domestic architecture, are given in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 92.

At HOUGHTON IN THE DALE are the ruins of a good Decorated chapel, with a fine east window bricked up. It is of very late character, and may be considered as a specimen of the transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style, the date being probably about 1380.

#### FARNHAM. ST. PETER.

A large and fine mixed church, consisting of chancel, nave, aisles, and west tower. The chancel is late Decorated with a fine east window of five lights and flowing tracery; the side windows are also good of three lights. The sedilia and piscina are fine transition from Decorated to Perpendicular; with ogee arches, crockets, and finials running into a straight horizontal moulding above. Some good stalls and a screen of the same character. The vestry on the north side of the chancel has been destroyed. The chancel-arch is fine, lofty, late Decorated. The nave consists of six bays with plain arches on octagon pillars with Decorated moulded caps. The clerestory is plain of the same transition character; the roof modern, ceiled. At the east end of each aisle is a parclose chapel enclosed with screens; one Decorated, the other Perpendicular. In the south aisle is a Decorated piscina across the angle of the sill of the window as at Cheltenham, and at South Moreton, Berks. The tower is fine lofty Perpendicular, with good west window, door, and tower-arch now blocked up. The exterior is panelled with flint and stone, with good tall buttresses, niches, &c. The south porch is good Perpendicular. The font fine Perpendicular, octagon, panelled, with the emblems of the Evangelists, &c., in the upper panels, and shields of arms with the letter H. crowned in the lower ones<sup>a</sup>. This occurs also on the outside of the tower. A represen-

<sup>a</sup> This initial letter, supposed also by some to be a P, is described by Gough as an N. See *Archæologia*, vol. x. p. 193. Blomefield supposes it to be an L. as being in the duchy of Lancaster, or an H. as

having been constructed in the reign of Henry VI. It appears to be, however, of earlier date than his times, and may be allusive to Henry IV. or V.

tation of the font is given in the "Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts."

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### EXCURSION TO CASTLE ACRE.

#### SCARNING. ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.

A large mixed church, consisting of chancel, nave, and west tower. The chancel walls are Decorated, but have a Perpendicular east window and piscina inserted. The chancel-arch is also Perpendicular, and has a good screen across it, with part of the rood-loft with the old painting on it: at the south end of the rood-loft is a small bell still hanging, said to have been "the Host Bell." The nave is Perpendicular, with large and good windows, and the north doorway; but the south doorway and porch are Decorated. The tower is late Perpendicular, with the arch open to the church; it has a stair-turret on the south side to the first floor only, and figures of some animal used as pinnacles at the angles of the battlement. The font is very singular: the upper part Early English, square, with shafts at the angles, and a sort of pinnacles with bunches of foliage for finials, of very rude work, attached to the sides; the stem is octagonal, with four detached octagon shafts at the corners, but these have Perpendicular bases: it is raised on two plain steps.

#### DUNHAM MAGNA. ST. MARY.

A very curious church belonging to the class supposed to be Saxon. The chancel is poor Perpendicular, but the nave and central tower are of very early character. The tower has long and short work; small round-headed windows splayed inside and out; belfry windows with a central shaft supporting a long stone, as in other well-known examples (St. Benet's, Cambridge, &c. &c.); but this shaft has Norman caps and bases. The arches are very plain, rude, and massive: the eastern arch has a rude cable moulding for the impost, and on the west side has two hood-moulds, the lower one springing from the ends of the impost mouldings; the upper one from short corbel-shafts with round caps rudely moulded: both these hood-moulds are round. The western arch has the regular Norman star ornament on the impost

moulding, the same as in the chapel in the White Tower, London. The nave has on the north side an arcade of shallow panelling; the arches segmental, the shafts flat and wide with imposts, one ornamented with the zigzag, another with the star; the bases are spread out like steps: on the south side are two similar arches, one of which has a round impost. At the west end is the singular triangular-headed doorway, engraved in the Glossary of Architecture: the imposts or caps consist of square mouldings in reversed steps, like a window at Deerhurst, engraved in the Glossary. On the north side of the nave is another of the small early windows. The south doorway is Early English, with a bold round dripstone terminated by masks. The south porch is plain Perpendicular. The font is poor Perpendicular, octagonal, panelled, with the emblems of the Evangelists and of the Passion on shields.

For a more minute account of this church, members are referred to the careful description of it by G. A. Carthew, Esq., in the *Norfolk Archæology* published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.

From the occurrence of the same ornaments here as at Deerhurst, and the chapel in the White Tower, London, we may almost venture to assign this church to the end of the reign of Edward the Confessor, or the beginning of that of William the Conqueror.

#### NEWTON. ALL SAINTS.

A small plain church, with a central tower. The chancel has Decorated windows and a locker inserted in early walls, with a Norman piscina in the south-east corner. The eastern tower-arch is small, rude, and early, slightly horse-shoed, with plain Norman imposts. The western arch and the nave are Decorated. The tower has a string of Roman-like tiles, and seems to have formerly had a vestry or chapel on the south side.

#### CASTLE ACRE. ST. JAMES.

A large and fine church of mixed styles, consisting of chancel, nave, aisles, and west tower. The chancel is originally Early English: it has a fine east window of four lights, with circles in the head well moulded, and banded shafts; the head of the window now plastered up. The priest's door is also fine Early English. There is a Perpendicular vestry

on the north side, which has had a room over it, but the floor is now removed: westward of this is a Perpendicular chapel, and Perpendicular windows are inserted on the south side. The chancel-arch is large and lofty Perpendicular, with remains of a rich screen with good paintings of Christ and the Apostles; on part of the screen is the letter N. with a mitre over it. The pulpit corresponds with the screen, and has also old paintings of saints. The nave is of five bays with fine Perpendicular arches, but some of the Early English clustered pillars are preserved and used alternately with Perpendicular ones. The clerestory and roof are late and poor Perpendicular. The north aisle has Decorated windows; the south Perpendicular, but a Decorated doorway. The north doorway and porch are Perpendicular, with a good stoup on the outside. The tower is good lofty Perpendicular; buttresses up to the parapet; good windows and sound-holes, and a good arch partially open, shewing the head of the west window. The font is plain Perpendicular, with a handsome pyramidal cover of open wood-work. There are some stalls, and some open seats with poppies.

#### THE CASTLE.

*Built by William, the first Earl de Warenne, before 1089.*

The remains of the castle consist of the massive flint walls of a circular keep, with the ditches and entrenchments and some portion of the boundary wall, the entrance gateway with massive round flint towers and pointed arches, without any very definite character, but apparently transition Norman. There is scarcely a vestige of ashlar masonry remaining in any part of the walls: it is a mere picturesque ruin.

#### THE PRIORY.

*Founded by William de Warenne, about 1085.*

The well-known rich Norman west front remains tolerably perfect, with its arcades, strings, and other good Norman ornaments. The upper story of the south tower is Early English: the west window has been a Perpendicular insertion. The plan of the church, with its chancel and transepts, can be clearly made out by the masses of flint wall remaining; but the west front is nearly the only part which retains any of the ornamental work. There are extensive ruins of the domestic

buildings of the priory, including the refectory, &c., chiefly plain Norman flint-work, but with portions of later date: the most perfect are those to the south of the west front and outside of it; among these are rich Norman doorways to a room with a barrelled vault. The upper part has Decorated square-headed windows inserted in Norman walls. There are also two good bay windows of the time of Henry VIII., one semi-circular, the other flat. The entrance gatehouse is Perpendicular, built of flint with moulded brick dressings, having shields of arms in the front, of Warren, Warren quarterly, France and England, and those of the priory.

In Great Fransham church, which will be passed on this route, there is a fine brass of the date of 1414, of which a rubbing was exhibited in the museum. This excursion might include Beeston, where are rood and parclose screens in the church; Mileham, where there is some fine painted glass; and Gressenhall, an Early English church, with some good panel paintings on the screen.

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## SECOND EXCURSION.

### YARMOUTH. ST. NICHOLAS.

A very large and fine church of mixed styles, cruciform, with a tower and spire in the centre. The chancel has a modern east end, and has been shortened: there was a vestry at the east end behind the altar, within the church, behind the reredos. There are remains of a Perpendicular reredos, with a small doorway on each side of the altar, which goes through the present east wall; there are also remains of fine Perpendicular sedilia, and an arcade on the north side. The side windows are of early Decorated character, restored a few years since. The north chapel of the chancel is Decorated, very large and wide; the windows of two lights. The south chapel has Perpendicular windows inserted; but remains of good Decorated piscina and sedilia, which have lately been opened, and some interesting old painting found upon them.

The tower is Early English, carried on fine arches, with rich mouldings, with singular bands of trefoils and quatrefoils round the shafts; the piers are of different periods, those on the east side are Perpendicular, belonging to the chancel: the

spire is covered with copper, tinned. The arches from the transepts to the aisles are fine Early English; the arches and pillars of the nave are of the same style, but plain work; the pillars octagonal with moulded caps and bases. The two aisles of the nave are wider than the nave itself. The walls are Early English, with Perpendicular windows inserted in the original jambs, which retain their shafts. In the north wall is a good Decorated sepulchral recess, with a tomb ornamented with a cross fleurée. In the south wall is a Perpendicular recess for a tomb, lately uncovered, with remains of a shield of arms, apparently those of Fastolfe: close to this are the piscina and aumbrye of a Perpendicular chantry. At the east end of the aisle, is an Early English piscina, &c., belonging to an earlier chantry. On both sides of the nave the original corbel-tables remain, now under the roofs of the aisles, shewing that the original aisles were narrow and had lean-to roofs below these corbels. The ceilings are Perpendicular panelled. The font is Early English, but very plain, with a cover of the time of James I.

The west end is of unusual dimensions and design, having three large gables, the centre the smallest, in which is a triple lancet window over the west door, which is half buried by the accumulated earth; the other two gables seem also to have originally had triple lancet windows, and panelling, but these are now filled up with Perpendicular work. Between the gables and at the angles are tall pinnacles, quite spoiled with plaster. The church has lately undergone a careful restoration.

[It was founded by Herbert de Losinga, bishop of Norwich, about 1123; in 1251 it was dedicated, having been greatly enlarged the preceding year. In the reign of Edward III., the chantry-chapels were so numerous, it was thought necessary to erect an additional aisle or chapel at the west end.—*Blomefield*.]

In the churchyard are the ruins of the Benedictine priory of the fourteenth century, with remains of good windows, a doorway, &c., now turned into stables. It is proposed to restore this interesting building, and convert it into a National School, a purpose for which it appears well suited.

There are some small remains of the Franciscan friary, consisting of a portion of the groined vault of a cloister of the fourteenth century, and a tower-arch of the fifteenth, in Gaol Street and Queen Street.





ARCHITECTURAL NOTES--YARMOUTH.

EARLY ENGLISH PERIOD



TOLL HOUSE, YARMOUTH See page 188

In the toll-house, near the gaol, there are two very good Early English doorways, one at the top of an external staircase, which has the tooth ornament in the jambs, with good mouldings and shafts. On the opposite side of the landing-place to this is a two-light Early English window towards the street, with cinquefoil heads and shafts in the jambs. The other doorway is in the interior of the building, lately opened, having been discovered by accident, and restored, much to the credit of the parties concerned. It is of similar character to the one just mentioned; but here the tooth ornament occurs in the arch mouldings and not in the jambs.

On the quay, a public-house called "The Ballast Keel," has some curious merchants' marks of iron, about the time of James I., put up again on a modern front. An archway under part of this house is of the fourteenth century: in some rooms at the back of it are two rich plaster ceilings of the time of James I.

Another house, near the south end of the quay, lately occupied by the Rev. W. H. Burrows, has also some rich Elizabethan ceilings. Nearer the town hall, the house of C. J. Palmer, Esq., built in 1596, has several fine rooms, with ceilings, and panelling, and fire-places, &c., of that period, very rich and handsome, and in perfect preservation. Over the mantel-piece in the drawing room are the arms of James I. Mrs. Carter, daughter of General Ireton and granddaughter of Cromwell, resided in this house; an account of which, well illustrated with engravings, by Mr. Henry Shaw, has been privately printed at the expense of Mr. Palmer. The Star tavern on the quay has also some good Elizabethan ceilings and a panelled room: the front is of flint-work of that period, but spoiled by modern windows. This is said to have been the residence of President Bradshaw.

There are remains of the town walls and towers of the fourteenth century, built of flint, with pointed arches and a parapet of brick: the bricks are of a form between that of Roman tiles and the common Flemish brick. The parapet has narrow slit openings in it, which appear calculated for arrows rather than musketry. The towers are octagonal without, and nearly flat within.

## BURGH CASTLE, NEAR YARMOUTH.

These well-known remains of *Garianonum* may be briefly described as those of an oblong Roman fortress, with rounded towers at the angles, and at intervals along the walls. The construction is of flint rubble, very massive, with layers of tiles at intervals of about ten feet; the tiles in layers of three, with a space of mortar between each layer, equal to the thickness of the tiles; in the towers, the intervals are not quite regular, the layers being sometimes closer, sometimes wider apart; all the mortar has pounded brick mixed with it. The tiles do not extend through the entire thickness of the wall: they appear to be limited to the facing, each stratum being only one tile in depth, where a section of the wall can be examined. The greatest height of the walls above the soil is about fifteen feet. Ives has given plans of the work and position, and a view of the south side, in his "Remarks upon Garianonum," 1803. It has been supposed that on the side next the river Waveney there was no wall; the cliff overhanging forming a sufficient protection. These interesting remains have recently come into the possession of Sir John Boileau, Bart.; they had been threatened with destruction in projected railway operations, and by other causes. A thorough investigation of the site is in contemplation, and Sir John has already made excavations on the east side, shewing the foundations of the entrance gate in that direction.

In the school-house recently erected, has been preserved a large beam, on which is an inscription in relief deserving of notice. Ives, in his *Garianonum*, gave a plate of it, but his reading is very erroneous. The inscription is as follows:—

*his cremabatur || denuo reedificatur Twyse brent aforne || is bult agean bi  
robert Thorne the parson 1548 | edb'di 6 2.*

Ives read it 1348, not perceiving the date, 2 Edw. VI. The beam was formerly in a kitchen of a small farm-house in the parish, in former times possibly the parsonage. The name of Robert Thorne occurs amongst the incumbents of Burgh, in the Registers at Norwich.

## BURGH CHURCH.

A small plain church of mixed styles, chiefly Perpendicular, with a round tower at the west end of flint, with small win-

dows formed of tiles. This looks like Norman work ; a good deal of tile and brick is mixed up with the flint, indiscriminately, not in regular courses. The upper part is entirely of brick ; but this has probably been added.

### CAISTER CASTLE

is an interesting ruin of a brick mansion of the early part of the fifteenth century, built by Sir John Fastolfe, who died in 1459. The moat remains, and one wall with a round tower at the angle in a very ruinous state. A small vaulted recess, with windows on two sides, is said to have been the chapel, but it looks more like the bay window of the hall. The tracery of the windows and ribs of the vault are Perpendicular, and of stone. The walls are built of bricks of unusual shape. There seems to have been a parapet wall all round carried on a projecting corbel-table, of which the corbels and some of the arcs remain.

### CAISTER CHURCH.

A plain church of mixed styles, consisting of chancel, nave, south aisle, and west tower. The chancel is Perpendicular, with a large east window of four lights. The sedilia and piscina have ogee arches, foliated, recessed in the wall, without hood-moulds ; they are all on a level. The nave has on the north side two Perpendicular windows and one Early English. The south aisle is Decorated, with plain arches, on octagon pillars, with moulded caps : the aisle is divided by modern walls into separate boxes. The south porch and doorway are Decorated, with a stoup inside the doorway. The tower is lofty plain Perpendicular, built of flint.

OBSERVATIONS ON A PAINTING OF THE XIV<sup>TH</sup>  
CENTURY, PART OF THE DECORATIONS OF AN  
ALTAR: DISCOVERED IN NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

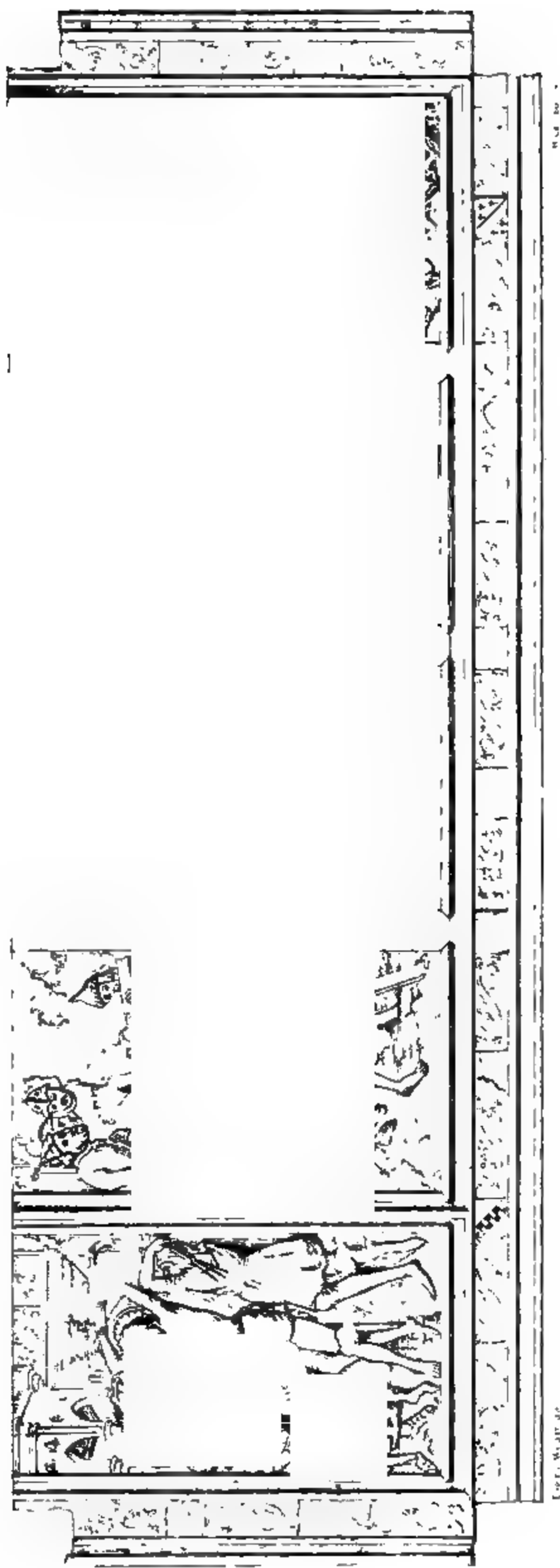
THE churches of the eastern counties in England present numerous examples of early art, of great interest to the antiquary, and remarkable for the state of preservation in which, after several centuries, they are found. Shortly previous to the Meeting of the Institute in Norwich, July, 1847, a valuable addition was made to this curious series, by the accidental discovery of a painting of considerable size and unusual merit of design,—a relic of the ancient decorations of the cathedral church. By the kindness of the Dean, the attention of the society was specially invited to this work of art; and it was regarded by many, who visited Norwich on that occasion, as an example of unusual interest, both as regards the period to which it belongs, considerably anterior to the date of the majority of East Anglian examples, and on account of the unusual artistic power evinced in its design.

The painting in question, of which a representation is now first, by the Dean's courteous permission, submitted to the student of medieval art, appears by its dimensions and arrangement to have served originally as a *retro-tabula*, or some part of the decoration of an altar. The actual size, the upper part of the painting having been unfortunately destroyed, is 7 ft. 5½ in. by 2 ft. 4 in. The subjects form a series representing five principal scenes of the Passion of our Saviour, each in a separate panel or compartment. The whole had been surrounded by a frame (7 inches wide) which had been rudely cut away at the four corners, to adapt it to some unworthy use, and the upper side is wholly lost. The mouldings of this frame were richly diapered, and ornamented with gilding, impressed work and portions of coloured glass, inserted at intervals\*; as also with armorial escutcheons, of which three only now remain.

\* Examples of this mode of enrichment, by the aid of coloured glass, are rare, especially in England. It was advantageously employed in giving effect to details of costume, as in the military belt of an

effigy at Aston, Warwickshire, engraved in Hollis' Sepulchral Effigies. The most striking work of this kind, known to me, exists in the lower part of the Sainte Chapelle, at Paris, erected A.D. 1245.

Ancient Mosaic on Panel of the Xth Century - part of the mosaic of the



part of the mosaic of the



The preservation of this work of art is wholly due to the fortuitous circumstance that the well-compacted piece of joiner's work, whereon the painter so elaborately displayed his skill, had happily been found suitable to form a large table for one of the subordinate chambers or vestries, adjoining the choir of the cathedral. It had, accordingly, on the removal of all superstitious imageries, been cut to adapt it to the desired purpose; the painted side being reversed, and by that means rescued from further injury. It had thus remained long time wholly forgotten, whilst the back of the picture served conveniently as the top of the required table.

The five compartments of the painting, preserved by this singular accident from the fury of iconoclasm, exhibit the following subjects:—

1. THE FLAGELLATION.—The Saviour is represented tied to a pillar, in a kind of open court in Pilate's house. On either side is a savage executioner, each in the act of upraising a scourge of several cords. On the right stands a personage in remarkable costume, an official, possibly Pilate himself, who seems about to clutch with his left hand the Saviour's dishevelled hair. This person wears the close-fitting buttoned jupon, girt round the hips by the *cingulum*, and the lower margin of the skirt is scalloped. His head is enveloped in a hood, over which is a conical cap, having a little white feather waving from its apex. The cap is richly jewelled; he wears tight-fitting hose and embroidered shoes, with very long *poulaine* peaks.

2. CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS.—The Saviour appears going forth from the gate of Jerusalem: a serjeant at arms holding a mace precedes him; this official wears a short-skirted garment, buttoned up the front, and seemingly of gamboised work, as the surface is formed in longitudinal ribs. He has a pointed head-piece, surrounded by a twisted cloth, the prototype of the heraldic torse: his gloves are of plate, and a long anelace hangs at his right side. Behind our Lord appear three men on horseback, issuing from the gate: one, probably representing the centurion, mounted on a white horse, wears a singular scull-cap, on the top of which is a little stem, supporting a red feather. Another of these military figures has the kettle-hat, a head-piece much in vogue in the fourteenth century.

3. THE CRUCIFIXION.—Of this, the central and principal



subject, the upper portion has unfortunately been cut away : the transverse part of the cross, the head and arms of the Saviour, are wholly lost.

On the left, near the foot of the cross, is seen the Virgin Mary with St. John, who supports her, as she is apparently sinking under intense emotion. The design and expression of these figures is exquisitely beautiful, and I regret that the scale of the accompanying etching is wholly inadequate to convey any notion of their merits. On the other side appears the centurion, who holds an inscribed scroll, hanging from his left hand,—VERE FILIUS DEI ERAT ISTE. “Truly this man was the son of God.” His right hand is upraised towards the crucifix : and behind him are two persons, probably Jews. The costume of this military figure is very rich : his jupon is of elaborate embroidery, with a splendid cingulum : he wears a red mantle, lined with fur, and closed on the right shoulder, so that the whole of the right side of the figure is shewn. The back-ground of this subject is most elaborately diapered, resembling an embroidered hanging. On St. John’s robe may be noticed two bands or bordures bearing letters, apparently Hebrew characters, an early example of the kind. At a later time this decoration is of frequent occurrence, and it possibly originated, as has been supposed, from the passage in Numbers, (c. xv. ver. 38,) in which the direction to the Israelites occurs, to make fringes in the borders of their garments, to remind them of the commandments of the Lord.

5. THE RESURRECTION.—Christ is here seen issuing from the sepulchre ; the crown of thorns is still around his brow ; the cross-nimb is jewelled, the right hand is upraised in benediction, the left holds a staff terminating with a cross and gonfanon. His foot rests on one of the sleeping soldiers. Their costume deserves examination. One, behind the tomb, has the kettle-hat with a mentonnière, vambraces and gloves of plate over sleeves of mail ; he sleeps, leaning on a huge long-hafted axe. The other two wear tall pointed basinets with camails ; they appear to have globular breast-plates beneath their jupons : one has a small rondache hanging over the hilt of his sword. In the back-ground, which is elaborately diapered, there appears a kind of arched *baldachino*, supported by slender shafts : and two escutcheons, supported by winged monsters, forming as it were pendants in the intersections of the vaulting, exhibit the arms of the Passion ;

one of them being, Argent, within a bordure gules, the cross, crown of thorns, scourges and nails: the field of the other is ermined gules, with the pillar of the flagellation, the spear and reed.

5. THE ASCENSION.—Here again the upper part is lost, and one half only of the figure of our Saviour remains, surrounded by an *aureola* of pointed-oval form. Below appear the Virgin Mary and St. John, in the centre of a group of thirteen figures, in all. Their countenances are all raised towards the heavens. St. John has here again an under garment ornamented with bands of Hebrew characters. The introduction of these inscribed orphreys in medieval works of art, often to be noticed in early Italian paintings, as also in enamels and painted glass of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, may probably, as has been observed, in some instances have arisen from the imitation of ancient Jewish usages, but it is certain that the oriental tissues and embroideries, so highly esteemed, were enriched with inscribed bordures, as is shewn by the vestments of the emperors Henry VI. (deceased in 1197) and Frederic II. (1250) discovered in their tombs at Palermo<sup>b</sup>, and by other examples.

The entire back-grounds of these curious paintings are gilded and enriched with impressed diapered patterns, and several of the ornaments are in slight relief, such as the bosses of harness, the goldsmith's work on the *cingulum*, and other details. The work seems to be executed upon a thin priming of a white composition, the *gesso*, laid upon the oaken panel, and I could perceive in the fractured parts no traces of the linen cloth, usually found beneath the priming. It is to the Tuscan artist, Margaritone di Arezzo, who died in 1275, that the invention has been usually attributed of the process of covering a panel with cloth, dressed with a priming composed of shreds of vellum, and covered with *gesso*.

The impression, that the remarkable vestige of art discovered at Norwich ought to be assigned to the early Italian school, has been fully confirmed by Mr. Digby Wyatt, to whose able pencil we are indebted for the representation accompanying these notices. He had recently returned from an artistic tour in Italy, and had duly profited by that occasion of examining minutely the examples of early painting

<sup>b</sup> I Regali sepolchri del Duomo di Palermo, Napoli, 1784.

there preserved. I am gratified in being enabled to give the results of his careful observations upon the Norwich painting.

“ My reasons for thinking that this series of paintings should be attributed to the hand of an Italian are manifold.

1st. THE GENERAL APPLICATION.—If it composed a *retable*, it is to be noticed, that very few decorations of that nature were, probably, executed in England. In old representations of the arrangements of the altar, a dossal or piece of embroidery, a painting introduced in the tabernacle work, or a triptych with folding doors, usually occupied the place of the *retable*. On the other hand, numerous altar pictures, similar to this in division and arrangement, are to be seen in Italy, especially in the neighbourhood of Assisi and Perugia.

I am not aware that any painting, similar to this in its purpose and general arrangement, exists in England; almost all the works recognised as of English work having been either mural paintings, or having formed decorative panels in rood-screens.

2nd. THE PROCESS.—These pictures appear to have been executed by first covering the panel with two or three washes of a thick paste of whiting and white of egg. When that had set, the outline of the design was traced upon it with a *red* line. This was peculiarly in conformity to the Italian practice, as shewn by the works of Benozzo Gozzoli, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, &c., the Germans having generally outlined their productions with a greyish black line, and the English followed their usage.

The nimbi and spaces destined to receive gilding were then marked out with fresh whiting and white of egg; the stems of the various flowers were marked with the modelling tool; and, apparently, the leaves were added by filling moulds with the paste, and fixing it by pressure on the surface of the picture. The punctured work and little toolings were then produced by aid of various implements, and the modelling was finished up. The portions intended to be gilt were then covered with gold-leaf, and the artist proceeded with his pictures, using transparent colours liquefied by white of egg. These details present the closest analogy with the universal Italian practice in the middle ages, as shewn by Cennini.

3rd. THE COMPOSITION AND TREATMENT.—These correspond with the conventionalities of the early Italian school. The group, for instance, of the Virgin and St. John, and the

peculiar reclining posture of the former, may be noticed in almost every Crucifixion, painted in Italy, from the times of Giotto to those of Perugino. It is found in the very curious Crucifixion in the upper chapel of S. Benedetto, at Suliaco, and in the celebrated representation of the same subject, by Cavallini, at Assisi. The introduction, likewise, of the centurion, in the prominent position here to be noticed, is strikingly Italian. The faces throughout are Italian, the noses and cheek-bones have none of that peculiar angularity, to be noticed in early German paintings. The drawing of the hands, as also the feeling expressed by the drooping and "*effilé*" character of the fingers, is very unlike the Northern mode of treatment, in which the knuckles are marked, and the hand, generally speaking, is distorted. The knee joints, it may likewise be observed, are usually drawn larger and more angular in the works of art of Northern Europe.

There is throughout a feeling for the graceful flow of the lines, particularly in the draperies, which present a very marked distinction from the angularities noticeable in all works, not Italian, at the period to which these paintings may, probably, be assigned (*circa* 1370.)

The whole style appears to me Siennese, and the heads, especially that of St. John, recall strikingly the works of Simone Memmi. That artist, however, died as early as 1345. In the arrangement and general grouping, the paintings bear much resemblance to the manner of Taddeo Bartolo, also of Sienna, and Buffalmacco, a Florentine painter. Some advance beyond their works is to be found in this work, in point of colour, as their particular green shadow-tint is comparatively absent.

4th. THE DRAPERIES.—They are cast with greater skill than was, I think, possessed by the artists of any other nation, excepting Italy; and by their folds express delicately (after the manner of the antique, and particularly of its students, the Pisans) all the forms beneath, without either clinging to the flesh like the peculiarity of the Byzantine school, or being unnaturally *cockled*, like that of the German. The *piaghe* or folds are gracefully arranged, and with quite the Italian conventionality of design. The eyes, or *occhi*, are also not indented after the German manner: there is a breadth of treatment in the drapery of the figure of St. John, and a character in the dropping robe, around the figure of our

Saviour, in the picture of the Resurrection, that are eminently Italian. In every portion of the drapery there is the same evident study and appreciation of the beautiful, which mark the character of the heads. In the art of subduing the folds to graceful lines, without vitiating the truth of probability, there is a manifest assertion of that "subjectivity," which subsequently so completely characterised the Italian schools of art.

5th. THE ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS.—The architecture, introduced in the backgrounds, would certainly present, were it designed by an English artist, extraordinary peculiarities. In the picture of the Resurrection, round Romanesque arches and plain groining occur coupled with what we should term Early English shafts, of light proportions, and late character; and this, accompanied by the use of a very perfect vine-leaf in the ornament, produces so irregular a composition, as to be only justifiable in the Gothic style of Italy, where, as we know, round arches were used at all periods and with every style.

Of course, the *doratura*, or gilded enrichment, is peculiarly Italian; the German artists, it is true, used gilding and tooling, but never with the regularity of relief displayed by trans-alpine examples.

The singular details of costume have struck me, in many instances, as properly Italian: for example,—the *berretta* worn by Herod and the centurion, and other peculiarities which must occur to any one who is familiar with Italian art.

In conclusion, I must express the conviction that no artist of any country but Italy, could have drawn the nude with the refinement exhibited in these paintings, at the period of their execution. I feel fully assured that they were produced by some student of the Siennese Masters, of the latter part of the fourteenth century."

It is to be regretted that it has not been practicable to accompany the foregoing highly interesting remarks with illustrations on a larger scale. This remarkable relic of medieval art is well deserving of being reproduced with the utmost care by plates of large dimensions, as a sequel to the examples from St. Stephen's chapel, and the Painted Chamber, published by the Society of Antiquaries.

The important contributions to the early History of Painting in England, from the pen of the late Mr. Gage Rokewode,

which so highly enhance the value of the publication last mentioned<sup>c</sup>, have thrown great light upon that interesting subject. Having, by the liberal permission of the Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of Norwich, enjoyed, on the occasion of the Meeting of the Institute, every facility of access to the long series of rolls of Account preserved in the archives of the cathedral, I spared no pains in searching for some evidence which might serve to illustrate the history of this curious painting,—to establish its precise date, or the circumstances connected with its being placed in the cathedral.

But, whilst all research has proved fruitless, it may still be hoped that some future examination of those voluminous records may bring to light memorials connected with the present subject.

A few scattered notices connected with the practice of painting in England, were extracted in the course of this search, pursued during many days, amongst these evidences. They will be found appended to these observations. I gladly avail myself of the occasion to express my grateful esteem of the courtesy and kindness shewn by the Registrar, John Kitson, Esq., to whom I am indebted for facilities, rarely conceded in such an enquiry.

It is probable, that, had the entire series of the heraldic escutcheons, which served, as has been stated, to decorate the frame of the *retable*, been preserved, some conclusion might thence have been suggested, in regard to the donor of so striking a decoration, and the period of its execution. The three bearings, still remaining, and occupying the least conspicuous position, namely, the lower side of the frame, may be described, as follows:—

Sable (?) a chevron between three lions rampant, argent. De Reynes, or Reymes, of Oxstrand, Norfolk. (Blomef., vol. viii. p. 143.) The same bearing has also been assigned to Hales.

Gules, a bend argent, billety sable. Morieux. The family of Morieux, of Suffolk, according to Blomefield, bore gules, on a bend argent, nine billets sable. Sir Richard de Wallefare, of Ryburgh Magna, Norfolk, married Euphemia, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Morieux, (Blomefield, vol. vii. p. 163.) The roll of arms, however, temp. Edw. II. in Parl. Writs,

<sup>c</sup> *Vetusta Monumenta*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, vol. vi.



vol. i., gives a different bearing to Sir Hugo de Morieus, of Suffolk.

A bend between six cross-crosslets fitchy. Probably Howard.

The arrangement of these decorations is shewn in the plate: the rectangular form of the heraldic enrichments is singular, but there appeared no reason to suppose that any of them had presented the customary form of an escutcheon.

It seems probable that about 10 inches in breadth, at least, had been cut away from the upper part of the paintings. No evidence exists as to the arrangement of the frame, and the manner in which the upper portion of the work was originally completed. I am disposed to think that the compartments were rectangular, and that the missing portion of the frame of this curious specimen of art was continued in a straight line parallel to the base. It is, however, highly probable that these paintings may have been surmounted by some other decorations.

I must add my entire concurrence in the opinion of my friend Mr. Wyatt, as regards both the period, and the school of art, to which these remarkable paintings must be attributed. From the first examination of the peculiarities of design and of costume there appeared abundant evidence of their Italian origin, and the arguments adduced by Mr. Wyatt have fully confirmed this impression. It is much to be regretted that the opportunities of studying the productions of the Italian school, at a period of such interest in the history of medieval art, are so inadequately supplied by any public collection in England. The assemblage of specimens, liberally presented by the Hon. W. Fox-Strangways to the Randolph Galleries, at Oxford, form almost a solitary exception.

ALBERT WAY.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE ACCOUNT-ROLLS OF NORWICH PRIORY.

### ILLUSTRATIVE OF PAINTING, PIGMENTS, &c.

#### A. D. 1257. Sacrist's Rolls.

Pro azure ad pictor', et pro vermeliun, et pro lineis pannis ad opus pictoris, et aliis coloribus ad opus ejusdem, xxxj. s. vij. d. ob.

#### A. D. 1277. Magistro Willelmo pro factura ymag'. iiij. lib. vj. s. viij. d.

Item, eidem pro factura xxj. panellorum et pro depiccione unius panelli, et pro tabernaculo, x. lib. viij. s.

Item, pro ligno ad panellos, xxxvij. s.

Item, magistro Roberto pro duobus panellis, vj. s. viij. d.

Item, magistro Herveo, et in stipend' unius qui fecit rotam, et Ricardi tornatoris, et Philipp' pictoris, xij. s. j. d.

Item, pro azura, vermeliene, vertegrez, xij<sup>s</sup>. argenti, xv<sup>s</sup>. et di'. auri, croco, albo plumbo, oleo, verniz et petris, v. lib. xxij. d.

Item, pacat' Thome et Egidio, xxxvij. s.

THE works, to which the foregoing entries relate, were executed at the period of the restoration of the church, after the conflagration in 1272, when the monastery was assaulted by the citizens of Norwich, and the church with many of the adjacent buildings burnt and plundered. The fine of 3,000 marks imposed upon the city, and the liberal gifts of the sovereign and many of the nobility, were employed in the restorations, which being completed, in 1278 a solemn rededication took place, in presence of Edward I., Queen Eleanor, with many prelates and nobles.

The supposition may, possibly, not be unworthy of consideration, that Master William, the artist to whom the principal payments were made on this occasion, may have been William of Westminster, who was appointed by Henry III. to the office of painter in the priory of St. Swithin's, Winchester, in 1240, and who executed many works at Windsor and at Westminster, where he painted certain decorations in the royal bed-chamber as late as the year 1272.

It deserves notice how large a quantity of silver and gold leaf was employed in the works at Norwich, in 1277. Of



the former, thirteen hundred leaves, and of the latter, fifteen hundred and a half, were required. The price is not stated; in 25 Edw. III. (1351) gold leaves, purchased for painting at the palace of Westminster, cost 5*s.* per hundred<sup>a</sup>; and silver leaves cost 8*d.* per hundred. These prices were variable: the extensive application of gold and silver foil at this period caused the use of various qualities—the “Gold fyn,” and the “Gold parti,” of inferior value.

A. D. 1288. *Compotus fratris H. de Lakeham* (Henry de Lakenham, installed Prior in 1289.)

*In stipendiis circa tabulam.*

*Magistro Ricardo v. marc. Item, Johanni le Noreis xx. s. ij. d. Item, Johanni de Deford xj. s. xj. d. Henrico pictori. xj. s. Wilhelmo pictori vj. s. viij. d. Item, sim' Cok xxviij. d.*

*Summa, v. li. xvij. s. ix. d.*

*Tabula, preter stipendia.*

*Pro oleo, sundes, ollis, ij. s. iiij. d. q<sup>a</sup>.*

*Item, pro stipite ad majestatem, xvj. s. q<sup>a</sup>.*

*Item, pro screnis<sup>b</sup>, et croco, et panno, et calceto de grauesende, et uno fenestrallo, iij. s. q<sup>a</sup>.*

*Pro ferramentis ad eandem tabulam, iij. s. ij. d.*

*Pro auro et expen' baiū (?) xj. s. vj. d.*

*Summa, xxj. s. viij. d. ob. q<sup>a</sup>.*

A. D. 1401.

*Custus ecclesie.—Item, pro pictura super parietem ante magnam ymaginem beate Marie, ij. s. vj. d.*

*Item, pro pictura unius panni pendentis ad magnum altare, liij. s. vj. d.*

A. D. 1404.

*In pictura ymaginis sancte Petronille v. s. vj. d.*

A. D. 1415. 3 Henr. V.

*Pro factura imaginum Gaciani et Johannis de Bredelyngtone xxvj. s. viij. d. Pro pictura, viij. s. x. d.*

A. D. 1427. 6 Henr. VI.

*Custus Ecclesie.*

*Item, solut' Johanni Virley pro factura de lez story sanguinis xpi in Anglic', iij. s. iv. d.*

*Item, pro factura et pictura ymaginum Sancti Thome martyris, preter fryse stone et lapidibus preciosis, cxvij. s.*

<sup>a</sup> Smith's *Antiquities of Westm.*, p. 217. Some purchases were made at 4*s.* 6*d.*, and 4*s.* per hundred.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly to be read *screuis*, scrolls? or shreds of vellum for making size. Com-

pare *Extracts from the Ely Sacrist's Rolls*, 13 Edw. III.—“Item, iv. buss de scrowes pro cole inde faciend'. xvij. d.” *Archæol.*, vol. ix. p. 153.

Sir Charles Eastlake has supplied, in his valuable "materials for a History of Oil Painting," a curious compilation of the scriptural and historical subjects, painted in England during the reign of Henry III. Amongst these occurs that of the *Majestas*, the supreme Being, or possibly the Holy Trinity, which was directed to be painted in the chapel at Rochester castle, and in that of St. Thomas, at Winchester, (Liberat. Rolls, A.D. 1239, and 1246.) The *Majestas* is mentioned by M. Paris amongst the decorations of medieval symbolism (*Vitæ Abbatum*, pp. 71, 90. Cf. Gervas. Dorob. de Combustione, &c., p. 1295°.) The *stipes*, above mentioned in the account of payments, "*circa tabulam*," in the time of Prior H. de Lakenham, was apparently a pedestal, or base, upon which the *majestas* was placed.

St. Gatian does not occur amongst the sacred or saintly subjects enumerated by the accomplished president of the academy, in his work above cited. He was the first bishop of Tours, the companion of St. Denis, in his mission from Rome, in the third century, for the extension of the faith amongst the Gauls. Of "Johannis de Bredelyngtone," the Yorkshire saint, born near Burlington, from which he took his name, it is needless to offer any notice. He died in 1379, and the miracles attributed to his intercession were in great repute at the time when his image was associated with that of the apostle of Touraine, in the early part of the reign of Henry V., as above related.

In the times of Henry VI. a singular entry is found,—"*pro factura et pictura de lez story sanguinis xpi in Anglic*." 3s. 4d. The cost was trifling; the subject may have been some miraculous effusion from the crucifix, or the host, when maltreated in derision by unbelievers. Relics of the "*sanguis Christi*," believed to have been thus shed, were preserved in several places, in medieval times. The most celebrated relic of this nature was that shewn at Mantua.

The foregoing entries in the Norwich Rolls, although of comparatively trifling importance, may, I would hope, prove acceptable as a slight contribution to the history of the arts in England; and as an addition to the collections of an analogous nature published by Horace Walpole, by Governor Pownall, (see his *Extracts from the Ely Rolls*, in the *Archæologia*, vol. ix. p. 151,) by John Thomas Smith, Britton and

• See also Ducange, v. *Majestas*.

Brayley, in their publications illustrative of the ancient palace of Westminster, and by Mr. Gage Rokewode in his instructive dissertation on the "Painted Chamber." The treatise on the history of oil painting by Sir Charles Eastlake may be cited as affording the most satisfactory information in regard to pigments and their preparation, as also on the *vetata quæstio* of the introduction of oil as a medium, and on various curious particulars occurring in the brief extracts here submitted to the Members of the Institute.

I hope, moreover, that these notes may assume some additional interest in connection with the early developement of the arts in these kingdoms, as shewn by the highly curious series of examples presented to the archæologist in visiting the churches of East Anglia, and of which so valuable and attractive a display was brought before the Institute, during the Norwich Meeting, in the exquisite drawings of the rood-screens and enrichments of ecclesiastical structures in Norfolk, contributed to our Museum by the kindness of Mr. Dawson Turner. The collections, the fruit of his indefatigable researches, are singularly rich in materials for the history of art, illustrative of the influence of relations with foreign countries, as shewn in the character of design in England during the mediæval period.

## ON THE MONUMENTAL EFFIGY OF BISHOP GOLDWELL IN NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

THE only recumbent monumental effigy in Norwich cathedral, that of Bishop Goldwell, who died A.D. 1498-99, is remarkable for being a singular instance, I believe, of the monumental effigy of a bishop prior to the Reformation, in which the *cappa pluvialis*, or processional cope, is represented as the outward vestment instead of the *casula* or chesible. For although it is not unusual to find small erect effigies of bishops, sculptured in stone or carved in wood, vested in the cope, and monumental brasses of clergy of canonical rank in the same habit, I do not know of any other instance in this country of the sepulchral effigy of a bishop, thus appearing, previous to the Reformation. The tomb is situated on the south side of the space between the choir and the altar, and forms an open arch, or canopy, placed under the second arch, eastward of the piers of the tower. A chantry was here founded by the bishop, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, St. James the Greater and the Less. The effigy of Bishop Goldwell represents him as vested in the amice, with its apparels disposed about the neck, and in the alb, with its apparels covering a portion of the extremity of the skirt in front; beneath the skirts of the alb the *caligæ* or embroidered episcopal boots appear. Over the alb the pendant extremities of the stole are visible, but this vestment is almost entirely concealed by the tunic, a small portion only of the skirt of which is disclosed; above the tunic is worn the dalmatic, fringed round the border of the skirt, with an orphrey or band of rich work affixed to it and falling down in front; over the left arm hangs the maniple, which is of rich workmanship and fringed at the extremities. On the hands, which are partly defaced, the *chirothecæ* or episcopal gloves appear, and the hands are joined on the breast in a devotional attitude; over the dalmatic, instead of the chesible, is worn the processional cope with its orphreys or borders of rich embroidered work carried round the neck and down the sides; the cope is fastened in front of the breast

by a rich square morse or clasp set with jewels. On the head is worn the mitre richly jewelled in the orphreys but partly defaced; the vittæ, pendant bands or fillets belonging to the mitre, are seen behind. Some remains of the pastoral staff, *baculus pastoralis*, and fanon attached to it, are also visible, but the head or crook is entirely gone\*.

The recumbent sepulchral effigies of bishops, after the Reformation, more frequently represent them as attired in the cope than before that period. An example of this occurs in the recumbent sepulchral effigy, in the south aisle of the choir of Ely cathedral, of Bishop Heaton, who died A.D. 1609. He is represented as attired in the alb and rochet, over which is worn a cope fastened in front of the breast by a morse or clasp; on the orphreys which run down the borders of the cope, are represented figures of the Apostles, each bearing his peculiar symbol, and appearing beneath a canopy. The head of this bishop is represented as covered with a close-fitting coif, over the upper lip are mustachios, and on the chin is a long peaked beard, whilst round the neck is worn a short plaited ruff. Other instances might be enumerated of the recumbent sepulchral effigies of bishops of the reformed Anglican Church, represented as attired in the cope, but in general the sepulchral effigies of bishops, whether kneeling, reclining, or recumbent, of the latter part of the sixteenth and of the seventeenth century, appear in the rochet, puckered at the breast, and in the double-breasted *chimère*, with very full white lawn sleeves. In this episcopal attire the effigy in the south aisle of the choir of Ely cathedral, commemorative of Bishop Gunning, who died A.D. 1684, is sculptured. The scarf is often represented worn over the *chimère*.

MATT. H. BLOXAM.

\* See a view of the monument in Britton's *Norwich Cathedral*, pl. xvi., the effigy (full front and profile) pl. xvii.

A plate of the tomb is also given in Browne's *Repert.*, p. 6.



BLESTON ST LAWRENCE CHURCH, NORFOLK.

REMARKS ON SOME ANCIENT REMAINS IN THE CHURCH  
OF BEESTON ST. LAURENCE, NORFOLK,

AND ON CERTAIN CHANGES WHICH TOOK PLACE IN EARLY ECCLESIASTICAL  
ARCHITECTURE, AS SHEWN IN CHURCHES OF THAT COUNTY.

BY THE REV. JOHN GUNN, M.A.

IN a letter published in the twenty-third volume of the *Archæologia*, the late Mr. Gage Rokewode, after a survey of about fifty of the ecclesiastical round towers of Norfolk and Suffolk, which had been supposed to have been ante-Norman, states that "although it might not be unreasonable to expect to find at least one tower that might pass for Anglo-Saxon, all such thoughts vanished when the towers themselves came before him in review." Instead of finding this rude and doubtful character, he saw pure Norman architecture, or the circular style, highly finished in some, and plainer in others, until it became more or less mixed with the English or Pointed; and with surprise he observed the Early Pointed style prevalent in a great many. There was but one tower which he conceived might rank higher in antiquity than the twelfth century, and this was not earlier than the Norman time.

With this opinion before me, and after a careful inspection of many of the churches referred to by Mr. Gage Rokewode, (the result of which is to convince me of the soundness of his conclusions generally,) I feel much diffidence in calling attention to what appear to me to be early Norman, if not Saxon remains, in the tower and north wall of the church of Beeston St. Laurence in Norfolk. My object in making this communication is to gain rather than to give information; and, I hope, should it be considered that these architectural remains are of the later period, in common with those inspected by Mr. Gage Rokewode, that they will still be interesting as a connecting link between the Anglo-Saxon and Norman styles, and as tending to prove them to be of the same family, of the members of which it may be said,

*facies non omnibus una;  
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.*

Before commencing a description of the church in question,



I will offer a few remarks, which may elucidate my view of the subject. It is my impression, not only that there was little difference between those styles of architecture, but that the change wrought in the population of the country, and in their habits and customs, by the Norman Conquest, was inconsiderable; and, admitting that the proprietorship of lands changed hands, it is reasonable to believe that the same artificers continued to be employed after, as before, the Conquest. The alterations which took place in Ecclesiastical architecture, after that event, are to be attributed rather to the more tranquil and improved condition of the country, and to the introduction of a better building material, the Caen stone, than to any essential difference in point of style. During the Saxon period, the constant exposure to invasions, especially on our sea coasts, caused the windows of churches to be small and few: in the Norman, they were constructed generally in a more regular series, and they began to assume considerable grandeur of proportion and beauty of detail.

I would offer these remarks in support of the Saxon origin and character of those churches of the circular style, which appear to have been designed for security against invaders, and, probably, were for that reason constructed upon the same scale and plan in some instances after the Norman Conquest as prevailed before it.

The tower of Beeston church is round, battering slightly to the windows, where the more ancient work ends, and the newer begins, which is mostly of the Decorated style. These windows are about 20 feet from the ground, on the north, west, and the south sides; triangular-headed, without imposts, and formed of the native gravel indurated and blackened by the oxide of iron. They are 5 feet high by 2 feet wide, on the outside, and 18 inches on the inside. The stones are laid without uniformity in the three several windows, and the tower, on the inside, where not covered by plaster, is chiefly of the same material, worked in the rudest manner.

In the lower part of the tower, 4 feet from the ground, is a small west window or loop, with a circular-headed archivolt of one large stone, rabbetted to receive a shutter of board or casement of glass, and splayed inwards; it is 2 feet 10 inches high by 8 inches wide, of very rude construction, and with an unusual thickness of the joints of mortar, which is characteristic of the early Norman as well as the Saxon style. The

tower-arch is modernized; its wall is 3 feet thick, and interior diameter 9 feet.

The west wall, abutting upon the tower, is 2 feet, to a coining of stones, of the same indurated gravel, where the buttress commences; and, from that coining to another of the same material, which extends from the top to the bottom of the ancient north wall, marking the length of the original nave, is 27 feet.

About nine feet from the ground the layers of stones in the north wall present the appearance of herring-bone work, but very irregular.

At the extreme west of this north wall is an ancient doorway, or perforation, now built up; but of what form it is difficult to ascertain, as there are no jambs or arch stones; and near it, is another opening or doorway, with an equilateral arch opposite to the south door, giving the impression that, on lengthening the church, the old door was stopped up, and a new one opened in the more usual place.

There is no appearance of any window in the north wall, except a Perpendicular one, now closed with brick-work.

Such are the main features of the ancient remains in this church. It is situated in a small village, near a public road; and it may appear singular that these architectural peculiarities should have hitherto escaped notice; but it may be attributed to their being concealed under a coating of plaster, which has now fallen off, and they have become exposed to view.

With reference to other similar buildings, I may observe that the length of the north wall corresponds nearly with that of the nave of Fishley church, near Acle, and of the ruined Norman church at Whitlingham, near Norwich. The same absence or deficiency of windows is also remarkable in these churches; and they are interesting examples, in common with many others, of ecclesiastical edifices probably built with a view to security against hostile attacks, and in which, it appears to me, the Anglo-Saxon type is carried into the Norman period.

The pointed arch in the lower part of the tower of Whitlingham church, on the west side, may be presumed to be later than the original structure, as the double arches divided by a banded shaft in the upper part are of a more ancient character. They resemble the upper windows in the tower

of Thorpe church by Hadiscoe; which, from its pilastered rib-work, bears a strong resemblance to the Saxon style.

With respect to the triangular arches, I have not been able to find any similar in ecclesiastical buildings. Those described by Mr. Bloxam in Herringfleet and Hadiscoe towers are very different, being placed under circular arches; and those in the north transept of Norwich cathedral, which Mr. Gage Rokewode mentions as the originals which, probably, served as patterns for others in Norfolk, are placed above the circular. They do not extend so far as the jambs, nor bear any portion of the superincumbent weight; but are merely ornamental mouldings.

I will now offer a few remarks on the changes which took place in ecclesiastical architecture, on the substitution of the rectangular for the basilical and apsidal form of chancels.

On a survey of the churches of Norfolk, particularly those with conched and semicircular east ends, the admixture of early Pointed with circular arches is very striking, and has been regarded by some as conclusive against their ante-Norman, or early Norman date. This evidence ought, I think, to be received with caution, and with due regard to the change which took place in the arrangement of the east end of churches, when the basilical or semicircular gave way to the rectangular form.

We find on examining the ground-plan of ancient churches in Norfolk, as elsewhere, that up to a certain period, namely the late Norman, the apsis almost universally prevailed. It is to be traced in the ruins of the ancient church at Castle Rising, according to an accurate plan representing the height of the remaining walls, sent to me by the Rev. Mr. Haughton; in the foundations of Great Dunham church, and of the lady-chapel of Norwich cathedral; (in Britton's History this chapel is represented as angular and more elongated, which was the form of a later building). The apsis still remains in Fritton, Gillingham, Hales, Heckingham, Morley St. Peter, and South Runcton churches; and at the high altar of Norwich cathedral.

This deviation from the basilical type was accompanied with other alterations, as the insertion of larger east windows, the removal of the priests' seats from the east end to the south side, and the erection of piscinas there, which are very uncommon during the Norman period.

Thus, at Hales church, in Mr. Cotman's etching, two Pointed windows are represented at the east end; and the continuation and abuttal of the circular upon them, which proves that they are a subsequent addition and not a part of the original plan, is omitted.

This omission, I have no doubt, arose from the portion of the circular arches being at that time concealed by plaster; as that distinguished artist and archæologist was as remarkable for the accuracy as for the beauty of his works.

It is also to be observed in the interior of this church, that the priest's seat and piscina in the opening of another early Pointed window, were innovations upon the original design.

At Gillingham church this is also strikingly exemplified.

At Fritton, there are the remains of a pedestal piscina; the original circular window still exists in the east end; on the sides are early Pointed, and other comparatively modern square-headed windows, which have been more recently inserted.

In the apse of Heckingham church, there is no piscina visible; and the east and other windows have been greatly modernized.

I hope these may be regarded as interesting exemplifications of the changes occasioned by the adoption of the rectangular in the place of the basilical form of chancels.

The examination of other churches in Norfolk since the Meeting of the Archæological Institute at Norwich, has convinced me that the usually-received characteristics of Saxon architecture are continued to such an extent after the Norman Conquest, that it is difficult to ascertain to which period the buildings belong. Granted that they were erected during the Norman period, still they may be justly said to be of Saxon origin; for these characteristics are scarcely to be found in Normandy, the native country of our Anglo-Norman style, while they abound here. It appears to me, therefore, that the term Saxonesque might be employed to describe them, as they are not Saxon in point of time, but of character. They may be enumerated as follows; herring-bone, long and short and pilastered work, balustered shafts, straight-sided arches, and windows splayed equally both externally and internally. Examples are given in the Glossary of Architecture of all of them in various Norman buildings, except the last, which is the most decided feature of Saxon work. Our

Norfolk buildings, Norwich castle for instance, and, I may add, Great Dunham church, supply examples also of this.

In that church double-splayed windows, together with the straight-sided arch, and short and long work, indicate the Saxon era; while the beautiful masonry of the stone-work, the plan of the edifice after the Norman pattern, and especially the original circular apse, assure us of its Norman date.

I will also add, by way of explanation, that the above statement, "that up to a certain period, namely the late Norman, the apsis almost universally prevailed," was not intended to apply to Saxon churches, the best authenticated specimens of which have rectangular east ends. The circular apse was introduced from Normandy, and may, therefore, be regarded as an evidence of that style. With respect to the ancient church at Castle Rising, there is this proof that it is Norman, viz., the apse, and there is not one characteristic of the Saxon style about it. The only ground upon which it was held to be Saxon was its supposed position beneath the Norman earthworks; and this has recently been demolished by Mr. Harrod, who has discovered a record of its existence above ground about a hundred years since; and, by actual experiment with the spade, has proved the subsequent accumulation of soil upon its mass of ruins.

If the tendency of the above remarks is to throw doubt upon the Saxon date of some of our Norfolk churches, while it ascribes to them a Saxon origin and character, the writer still maintains that where it is recorded in the Survey that a church existed before the Conquest, and where entire walls with well-defined coinings, and possessing Saxon characteristics, are found to be incorporated in more recent edifices, no reasonable doubt can exist of their actual Saxon date, unless our forefathers be supposed to have pulled down and rebuilt churches without any assignable object, and that too in obscure and small villages, where such remnants of antiquity might be expected to survive longer than in more populous and wealthy places.

## REMARKS ON SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

CONTRIBUTED BY CAPT. BLAKISTON, R.N.,

TREASURER OF THE NORFOLK AND NORWICH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

No more genial an archæologist exists among us than Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich. Exists, I mean, in an archæological sense; historically speaking, he quitted this city and this world in the year 1682, leaving behind him a shining reputation.

Sir Thomas Browne's works, especially since Mr. Wilkins' edition of them, are so well known, as to make it unnecessary to introduce him here as a stranger; still, to bring our great physician in a vivid form for a few moments before our present assembly has been thought not improper; indeed Norfolk patriotism could hardly suffer any learned body to hold its meeting in Norwich without endeavouring to associate with the meeting its great antiquarian and eminent citizen.

Our worthy knight was a quaint and original thinker; this, with a transparent sincerity, and a kindness of nature overflowing into sympathy with all men and all things, must have made him the most agreeable of companions. His very failings are attractive; we love him for his extreme curiosity, for his delight in the marvellous,—a delight which he shews even when he does not believe in his marvel;—we love him for his devotedness to his subjects; for his almost self-transformation into that which he is investigating.

His *Religio Medici*, the work by which he has been most celebrated, containing perhaps the extremes of his greatness and weakness, must not be the standard by which to judge of the character of his mature mind: it was written at a very early age, with the enthusiasm but also with the rashness of his exuberant genius; at the time when the superfluous valour of his youthful faith made him wish to believe impossibilities; but after a rational scepticism had chastened this fervent superstition, and he had reached the healthy vigour of mental age, we discover the true philosopher, and read his *Christian Morals* with delight.



Still, we cannot possibly admire Sir Thomas Browne unless we permit ourselves to smile, indeed we need not love him the less if now and then we fairly laugh at him; we must expect oddities among beauties, like grotesque carving in a church; we must forgive his Latinized style of writing, his perhaps pedantic, at any rate peculiar mode of expressing his thoughts.

Oh! for one hour of Sir Thomas Browne! Such an hour as when he unearthed the coins with Sir Robert Paston at Oxnead, or when he turned up the Roman urns with Mr. William Marsham at Brampton! What strange reflections, what subtle conjectures should we not have!

I will read a passage from his writings, where he alludes to monuments that afford no record of their tenants, nameless tombs. It is thus he chastises the sepulchral ambition of these great unknown;

“Had they made so good provision for their names, as they have done for their relicks, they had not so grossly erred in the art of perpetuation. But to subsist in bones, to be but pyramidally extant, is a fallacy in duration.”

And farther on, referring to tombs where names have been preserved, he says;

“To subsist in lasting monuments, to live in their productions, to exist in their names, and predicament of chimæras, was large satisfaction unto old expectations, and made one part of their elysiums. But all this is nothing in the metaphysics of true belief. To live indeed, is to be again ourselves, which being not only an hope but an evidence in noble believers, 'tis all one to lie in St. Innocent's churchyard, as in the sands of Egypt. Ready to be any thing, in the ecstasy of being ever, and as content with six foot as the Moles of Adrianus<sup>a</sup>.”

How charming to have glided by his side, when he lionized Evelyn through the streets of Norwich! Evelyn, who had come here for the express purpose of seeing this celebrated man. It was on the occasion of Charles the Second's visit, in 1671, that Evelyn accepted Lord Henry Howard's invitation to stay at the duke's palace; “having a desire,” says this elegant observer, “to see that famous scholar and physitian, Dr. Thomas Browne, author of the *Religio Medici* and *Vulgar Errors*, now lately knighted<sup>b</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup> From the *Hydriotaphia*, chap. v. pp. 494—496.

<sup>b</sup> Evelyn's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 444.

Browne was born in London, in 1605, educated at Winchester and Oxford, and after indulging his love of research by travel, he established himself at Norwich, inhabiting a house in the Haymarket, part of which is at this moment a Savings Bank; from this house a few years ago, it was necessary to remove a handsome and elaborate piece of carved oak wood-work, having the royal arms in the centre; it formed a chimney-piece in one of the wainscoted rooms; the ceilings of these rooms were richly moulded, but the house contained no further traces of that which Evelyn described as being "a paradise and cabinet of rarities, and that of the best collections, especially medals, books, plants, and natural things".

Browne's Accounts of the Antiquities of Norwich and Norfolk, of Norfolk Birds, and Fishes, would shew an extreme interest in the objects of this county, yet no grain less of interest did he seem to take in Arabia or China, and he was equally at home with the Three Kings of Cologne, with Friar Bacon's Head, and in The Gardens of Cyrus: indeed, it is one of the charms of our singular friend that he is sincere and earnest with every thing he treats upon; he may perhaps carry this to an amiable excess; giving, for instance, most unwearied pains to refute the opinion that a diamond is softened or broken by the blood of a goat; one would have thought this scarcely necessary.

But, in truth, he was "fond of the curious, a hunter of oddities and strangenesses," as Coleridge observes; who adds, "Read his Hydriotaphia above all: and in addition to the peculiarity, the exclusive Sir Thomas Browne-ness of all the fancies and modes of illustration, wonder at and admire his entireness in every subject which is before him. He is *totus in illo*; he follows it; he never wanders from it, and he has no occasion to wander; for whatever happens to be his subject, he metamorphoses all nature into it. In that Hydriotaphia, or Treatise on some Urns dug up in Norfolk, how earthly, how redolent of graves and sepulchres is every line! you have now dark mould, now a thigh-bone, now a skull, there a bit of mouldered coffin! a fragment of an old tomb-stone with moss in his *hic jacet*; a ghost or a winding sheet, or the echo of a funeral psalm wafted on a November wind! and the gayest thing you shall meet with

<sup>c</sup> Ibid., vol. i. p. 445.



shall be a silver nail or gilt *Anno Domini* from a perished coffin top<sup>d</sup>."

Not to take my leave of you in this melancholy mood, I will finish my paper by referring to those same merry days at Norwich, when the magnificent Henry Howard had, at Christmas time, "dancing every night and entertainments to all that would come," when he sent *omnibuses* for the company, *omnibuses*, not indeed so *called*, but we read that "three coaches were employed to fetch ladies every afternoon, the greatest of which would hold fourteen persons, and coste five hundred pound, without the harnesse, which coste six score more;" when, at the last night of the banquets, "his gates were opened, and such a number of people flocked in, that all the beere they could set out in the streets could not divert the stream of the multitudes till very late at night."

Thus writes, not the learned knight himself, but his gallant son, an indefatigable dancer, who records in his Journal the names of the "greatest beautys" at these entertainments.

There is a portrait of Sir Thomas Browne at St. Peter's Mancroft church, which will interest those who love the pleasant doctor<sup>e</sup>. His monument is also there.

<sup>d</sup> From a letter on Sir Tho. Browne, by Coleridge; "Remains," vol. ii. p. 415.

<sup>e</sup> It was presented to the parish by Dr. Howman, who had his residence in Sir Thomas Browne's house, at the time when

Blomefield wrote his History of Norfolk. See vol. iii. p. 414. This valuable portrait was, by permission of the churchwardens, exhibited in the Museum formed during the Meeting of the Institute.

